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RELIGION IN THE HIGHLANDS

Native Churches and Missionary Enterprises in the Southern Appalachian Area

By

Elizabeth R. Hooker

With a Section on Missionary and Philanthropic Schools

By Fannie W. Dunn

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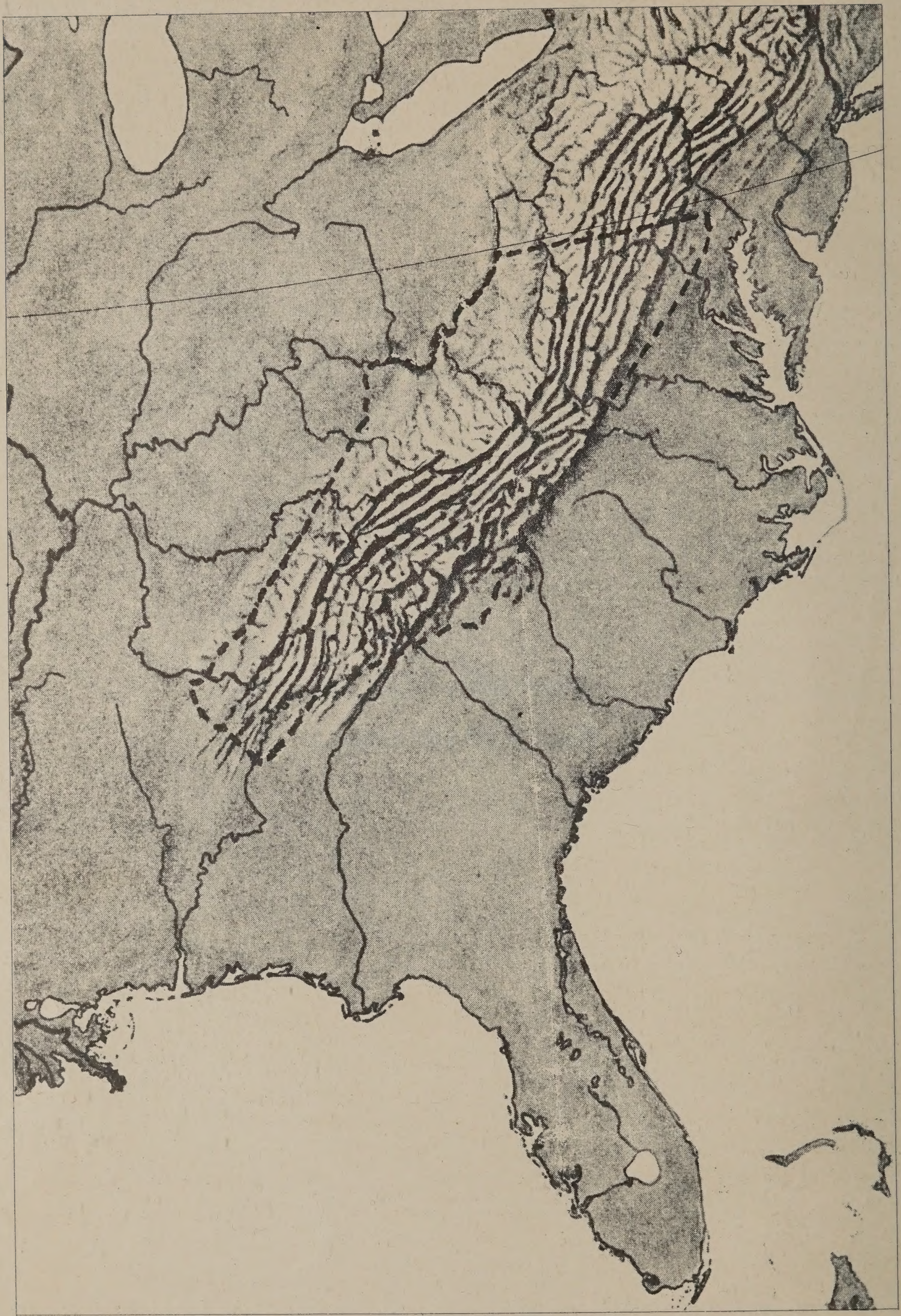

Diagram I - Map Showing the Location of the Southern Appalachian Highlands.

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INTRODUCTION

A study of the religious situation of the Southern Appalachian Highlands was undertaken by the Institute of Social and Religious Research at the request of the Joint Committee on Comity and the Five-Year Program, representing the Home Missions Council, the Council of Women for Home Missions, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the Community Church Workers. Work on this study was begun early in the spring of 1931.

The investigation had the great advantage of being conducted in cooperation with an Economic and Social Study of the Southern Appalachian Highlands, made at the same time under the direction of Dr. L. C. Gray of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture, by certain divisions of that and other Federal departments conjointly with agricultural colleges and experiment stations of southern states containing Highland territory. This national study supplied a great quantity of valuable material used in the present study. From the same source, by the courtesy of Dr. Gray, the present study is permitted to use eight of the charts that appear in this volume.

The principal data on which the findings of the study were based were obtained through field surveys of seventeen counties, or in a few cases, major parts of counties, chosen to represent the principal subdivisions of the Highlands. The counties surveyed are shown on the map that forms Diagram II. Grouped according to the subdivisions they represent, they were as follows:

Northeastern Cumberland Plateau:
    Knott and Leslie counties, Kentucky

Northwestern Cumberland Plateau:
    Laurel County, Kentucky
    Cumberland County, Tennessee

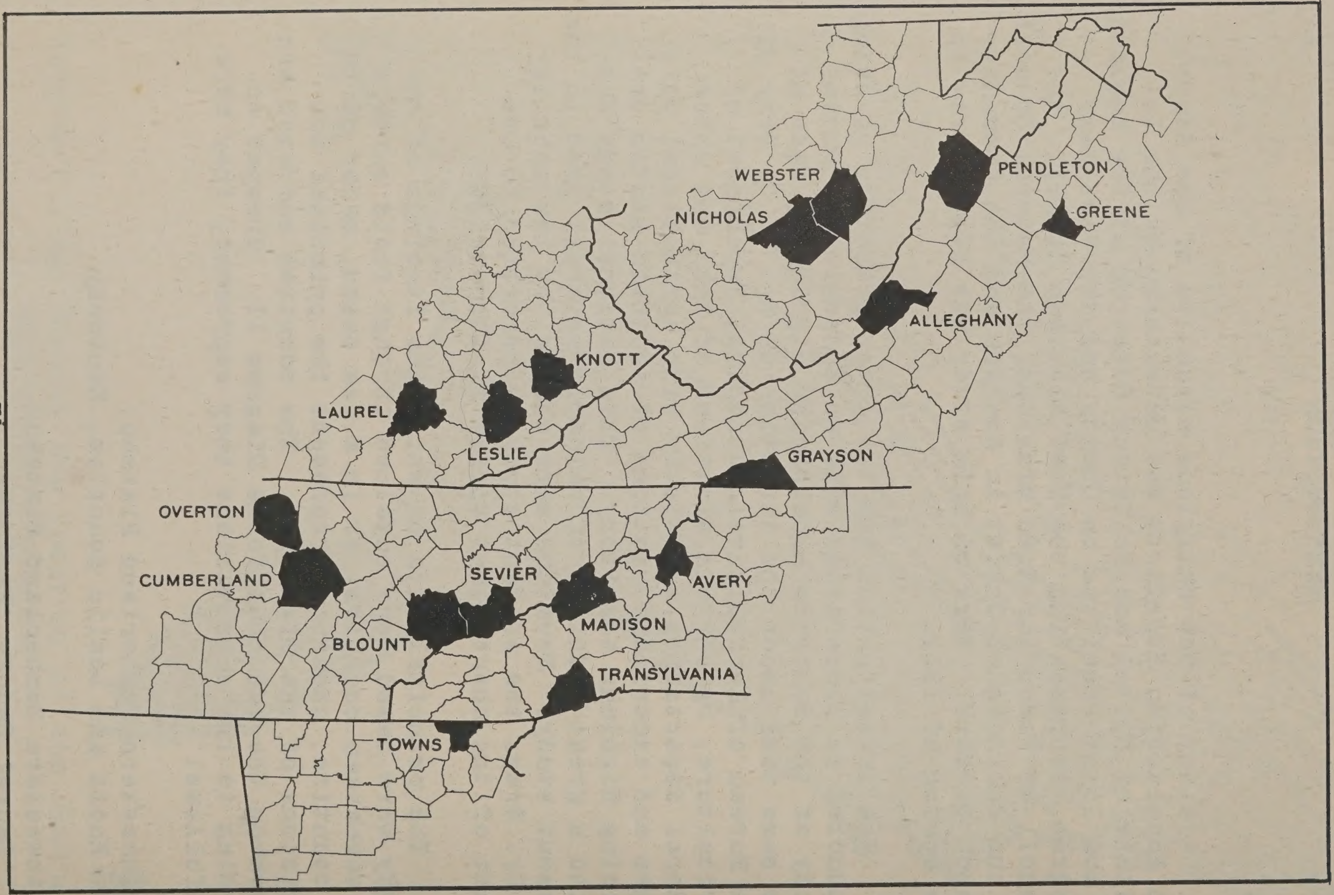
WEBSTER
PENDLETON
NICHOLAS
GREENE
ALLEGHANY
KNOTT
LAUREL
LESLIE
GRAYSON
OVERTON
SEVIER
AVERY
CUMBERLAND
MADISON
BLOUNT
TRANSYLVANIA
TOWNS

Diagram II - Map Showing the Location of the Counties Surveyed

Overton County, Tennessee (partly in the Highland Rim)

Alleghany Plateau:
- Nicholas and Webster counties, West Virginia (one urban center in Nicholas County being left out of account)

Blue Ridge:
- Towns County, Georgia
- Avery, Madison and Transylvania counties, North Carolina
- The Highland parts of Sevier and Blount counties, Tennessee
- Grayson and Greene counties, Virginia

The Central Ridges:
- Alleghany County, Virginia (two urban centers being left out of account)
- Pendleton County, West Virginia

The Central Valleys:
- The rural valley section of Blount County, Tennessee (two urban centers being left out of account)

These counties proved to contain approximately 1,000 rural churches, constituting a sample of nearly 7 per cent. of the churches in the 170 counties entirely within the Highlands.

From religious census data, information was obtained for these 170 counties regarding the distribution of churches and church members according to both area and population, and also according to denominations and groups of denominations, for 1926 and for earlier periods.

The chapter on the mission schools of the Highlands was written by Dr. Fannie W. Dunn, of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, who personally visited a large number of schools in the Highlands. Data were also obtained from mail schedules for fifty-one mission schools, from surveys by regular field workers of mission schools in the counties visited, and from special surveys in the same counties of typical public schools selected by the county school superintendents. Advance figures were furnished by the government study, and pertinent data were drawn from the published reports of state departments of education.

The book is designed to be of use to several classes of readers. It is hoped that the facts presented may enable denominational officials, and ministers and teachers working with the Highlanders, to envisage their problems afresh, while the more progressive among the Highlanders themselves may be interested in comparing their religious institutions and attitudes with those of rural territory in the United States in general. For the hundreds of thousands of church members and other benevolent persons who contribute to the support of the mission churches, schools and community centers, the facts here presented should form the basis of corrected judgments as to the nature and extent of the needs of the Highlands, and should furnish some conception as to how the funds contributed are being administered. Finally, the general American public may well be interested in the church life of a people long isolated from the rest of the world, because it reproduces to a considerable extent the churches and religious attitudes of their ancestors of colonial days.

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CORRECTIONS

Page 301 - McIntosh, number 25, should not be listed as a separate enterprise inasmuch as this is a small branch station of Wooton Community Center, number 29.

Page 302 - Pattie C, Stockdale, number 49, should also have the designation "R" as a strong religious program is carried on with the home as the center.

Page 304 - Sunset Gap, number 101, should also have the designation "R."

Page 311 - Asheville Farm School, number 55, should be labeled elementary as well as secondary as a number of the students there are not yet ready for high school work.
Dorland-Bell, number 65, should be labeled, Presbyterian U.S.A. rather than Presbyterian U.S. This should also be marked, grade 6 through high school.

Page 314 - Mossop School, number 112, should be labeled, grade 6 through high school.

Page 246 - The Rabun-Gap-Nacoochee School in Georgia should be marked Presbyterian U.S. rather than the Presbyterian U.S.A.

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*Furnished by the Economic and Social Study of the Southern Appalachian Highlands, made under government auspices.

Chapter I

ANTECEDENTS

The past lives in the present to an unusual degree in the church life of the Southern Appalachian Highlands. Isolated among the recesses of the Blue Ridge Mountains and of the minutely dissected plateaus farther west, the people of the Highlands* preserved certain religious attitudes and forms of church organization and of worship that had arisen centuries before in the European countries from which they came, and others that were developed during colonial days in America. Therefore a necessary preliminary to the explanation of the church situation in the Highlands, which forms the theme of the present volume, is a glance back at the ancestors of the Highlanders, first in their original homes in Europe, then as they came to America during the great migration of non-conforming Protestants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and later as they established themselves in the recesses of the Highlands, and felt there the swell of certain grand movements in early American religious history, most of which had their origin close to the edges of the Highland region.

Racial Stocks

Though often described as of "pure Anglo-Saxon blood", the Highlanders are descended from a number of distinct racial stocks, of which the most important are three, namely that composite stock called English, the Scotch-Irish and the German. Each had experienced economic deprivations in the old world. Each had revolted from the mediaeval religious order embodied in the Roman Catholic Church, and in consequence had suffered persecutions and had been marked by them. All had been sifted by the choice of immigration.

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*The words Highlands will be applied in this book to the Southern Appalachian Highlands, and the term Highlanders to the inhabitants of this area. For a delimitation and description of the territory see Chapter II.

English: The seeds of the English migration go back to the rise of the Lollards in the fourteenth century. These Lollards, that is, babblers, as they were scornfully called, had been led by Wyclif, through his translation of the Bible, his tracts, and especially the sermons of his "poor preachers", to question the authority of the Catholic Church, then the universal church of Christendom. They came to believe that the mass had no magical effects, and that they no longer needed the priests who claimed the sole power to administer it. They thought images of saints idolatrous. They condemned the priests and monks for their wealth and for their notorious lives. In the opinion of many, they were largely responsible for certain uprisings of the very poor against their wretched lot. The church made strenuous efforts to put an end to Lollardry through persecution. But the Lollards were so many, so humble and quiet, and their poor preachers slipped about so unobtrusively from parish to parish, that the persecutions and the occasional burning of a heretic at the stake only strengthened the resolution of those that were in earnest, while ridding the movement of the half-hearted and the cowardly; and the new ideas spread rapidly, for the most part among the poorer classes, both in towns and in the country, throughout England and southern Scotland.

The Lollards had a profound veneration for the Bible. They could not read it in a single printed volume, for the first printing press was not set up in England till one hundred years after Wyclif's day. But a Lollard here and there found an opportunity to secure a manuscript copy of a few chapters, for which he would perhaps exchange large amounts of farm produce; and this treasure he kept hidden away. The Lollards of a vicinity gathered secretly, often by night, and some one read aloud from such a treasured manuscript or from one of Wyclif's tracts; and sometimes a traveling preacher spoke to them. Each little group formed a separate fellowship, and the beliefs of one group might be different in some ways from those of another group. Each individual was very sure that he was right, and tried to convince others. Certain beliefs, however, they all held in common:

That the Bible was the word of God and that in it every man, even the most ignorant, could find the truth without the help of the church or her priests.

That the salvation or damnation of each human soul was the foremost concern of the Almighty, and had been foreknown, and according to some foreordained, since the beginning of the world.

That, therefore, every human being, however poor, was of inestimable worth.

That faith and righteousness and eternal salvation outweighed earthly pleasures and amusements, which they came to hate, partly because these were associated in their minds with the richer and more powerful classes who oppressed them.

That their chief enemy, the Catholic Church, which had burned some of their leaders and had persecuted others, was a personification of evil.

Without church buildings, church organizations, settled ministers or regular services, and in spite of intermittent persecutions all the way along, the Lollards survived from the time of Wyclif to the rise of Luther, a century and a third, a period as long as that between the American Revolution and the World War.

These experiences, continued for four or five generations, tended to develop in the Lollards certain traits of character, such as dignity, resolution, courage, persistence and sobriety. Their interest in the Bible led many of the uneducated among them to learn to read, and their theological debates did something to develop their reasoning powers.

The outward forms of religious experience to which they became accustomed included, first, the entire independence of each local group, both of other groups and of any central authority; secondly, a minimum of local organization; thirdly, preaching by earnest but uneducated laymen, this preaching, rather than the sacrament of the Catholic Church, being the central feature of their services; and, finally, utter plainness of worship, without ritual or symbol, in resolute avoidance of every reminder of Catholic procedure.

Because these secret dissidents were scattered over England, the break with Rome in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI was readily accepted by the people. Early in Edward's reign the laws against the Lollards were repealed. Under Elizabeth many of the successors of the Lollards tolerated the established Church of England in a tentative way, although so-called "Puritans" demanded that it be purged of Romish features, and others called "Separatists" urged the divorce of Church and State. The latter were either banished or reduced to silent acquiescence by stern measures on the part of Elizabeth. But the attempts to enforce uniformity made under James I and especially under Charles I, drove many non-conformists to exile in Holland and later in America. Puritan leadership during the Long Parliament, which opened in 1640, encouraged the return of Separatists from Holland and America, where each congregation had necessarily been independent, and favored the open development of sects of all kinds. During the Civil War Presbyterianism was accepted formally as the established religion of England, to win the help of the Scotch against Charles' army. But even within the Presbyterian establishment many of the ministers were Congregationalists in preference. Outside it various minor sects attracted many followers. The "godly men" of Cromwell's New Model were to a considerable extent Independents, who were much the same as Separatists. Quakers numbered 20,000 in 1659, when their leader, George Fox, had been preaching only eleven years. Anabaptists, of whom more will be said later, came to have churches in various parts of Great Britain.

The Restoration of 1660, followed by successive acts of Parliament creating disabilities for non-conformists and especially for non-conforming ministers, resulted in a new impetus to migration to America, which lasted till the English Revolution in 1688.

Not all those who went to America went from religious motives. For many the predominant impulse was doubtless the spirit of enterprise and adventure that was abroad in those days. Others migrated primarily out of despair of overcoming the political oppression of the Stuarts. Economic motives actuated other emigrants, such as the farmers and artizans suffering from the high rents and high prices then prevailing, and many unemployed men, including ex-monks, ex-retainers of feudal houses, ex-farmers whose lands had been enclosed for sheep raising, and would-be artizans shut off from work through the restriction of employment by the guilds. Some, called "redemptioners," bought their passage by mortgaging their labor for the first few years in America. And some persons convicted of political offences or minor crimes were sent by the government to service on "the plantations." * Even those who went to America definitely in search of freedom of worship, were influenced also by economic considerations. Indeed, important forms of persecution consisted of heavy fines and the restriction of opportunities for employment.

Even allowing for all these qualifications, however, the American colonists included many who had been influenced to migrate, at least in part, by religious motives. Such men had certain strongly marked characteristics, which in some had become deeply rooted during several generations of Protestant convictions. They were in the main men and women of force, uprightness of character, intelligence, and independence of thought and of action. They were by nature inclined to take the other side, to dissent from accepted ideas, to object and protest and withdraw - in short, they showed in a pronounced degree the individualism of typical Protestants. And as compared with the non-conformists who stayed in England, they showed on the whole greater ambition, courage and initiative.

Some of the colonists from England, true to their

*Though some aristocrats migrated to Virginia during the Commonwealth, their posterity did not settle in the Highlands to any great extent.

Lollard inheritance, either represented before migration, or adopted in America, denominations in which the separate congregations have a high degree of independence. They were or became Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, or members of various similar sects. Many, however, who had Puritan or Independent leanings were nominally adherents of the Church of England.

Scotch-Irish: In southern Scotland, to an even greater extent than in England, scattered Lollards had persisted, in spite of persecution, to the time of the Reformation. Their barren northern land had tended to make the Scotch serious, hard-working and persistent. Certain of their scholars, returning from the Continent, where they had come under the influence of Luther, Calvin and other Reformers, spread the new doctrines and made familiar the Presbyterian form of church government, which the continental reformers had instituted. Persecutions followed; and two of the Scotch preachers were burned at the stake. In 1557 the Protestant Scotch lords made a solemn covenant to support the Protestant religion; and in 1560 a Presbyterian church was established as the Church of Scotland. A General Assembly was constituted, and Presbyterian churches grew up very rapidly, so that whereas there were only twelve ministers in 1560, there were 252 by 1567. Thus the Scotch all worked within an established church, instead of part of them being outside the establishment as in England. Under these circumstances the Presbyterian system came to be for the Scotch the one accepted form of Protestant church.

James (VI of Scotland and I of England), fearing the power that the people exerted through their organization in the Presbyterian church, worked for years to introduce bishops into the establishment; and he finally succeeded. He then, with the aid of these bishops, used every means, including persecution, to induce the Scotch church to accept the forms and symbols of the Anglican church, things that they looked upon as papistical.

When, in 1611, colonists were wanted to settle in northern Ireland, many lowland Scotch seized upon the opportunity. Those who migrated were naturally those with the more force, ambition and initiative. They went largely to get a better opportunity to make a comfortable living. But almost all were Presbyterians, and with some, desire for escape from religious persecution was a strong incentive. Among the emigrants were many persecuted ministers.

Under Charles I strenuous attempts were made to render the Irish church similar in every way to the Church of England. The attempt was made to exact an oath of unconditional allegiance from every man, woman and child in northern Ireland. Many that refused this oath were cast into dungeons; and some, especially among the ministers, fled to the west of Scotland.

While the Puritans were in control in England, the Scotch-Irish set up a Presbyterian church in the north of Ireland. After the Restoration, when Charles II and his bishops tried to enforce the English acts of Uniformity and of Supremacy on the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, sixty-one of the sixty-eight ministers, refusing to conform, were turned out of their pulpits. Gradually, however, they came back to their parishes and began to serve their former congregations in secret. "Preaching houses" were erected. Though Episcopal churches were nominally in existence, the large majority of the people attended the Presbyterian services. After the Revolution, in 1688, the whole machinery of Presbyterianism was again in free operation. But in 1704 the Irish bishops succeeded in having a sacramental test, designed to keep Roman Catholics out of official positions, applied to the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. But in spite of this, and notwithstanding the fact that the Presbyterians had to pay tithes to support the Episcopal establishment, the Presbyterian Church continued to grow rapidly.

Beside suffering from religious disabilities, the Scotch-Irish were subjected to serious economic handicaps. The English Parliament, through successive acts during the last third of the seventeenth century, forbade the export to England, except under prohibitive duties, of their cattle, their crops, and their wool; and about 1717, as their leases fell in, greatly increased rents were demanded of them.

What with the difficulty of making a living and the religious disabilities, migration from northern Ireland to America became important about 1714, and, stimulated by years of famine, agrarian disturbances and the decline of their linen industry, it grew in volume, and continued to be extensive up to the American Revolution. Even before the middle of the century 100,000 Scotch-Irish, it has been estimated, had migrated to America. This second sifting through migration again selected as colonists the more virile, enterprising and self-reliant individuals. As the religious disabilities fell most heavily on the ministers, a considerable number sailed among the other emigrants to America.

Having some ancestral strains in common with the English colonists, and having experienced in early days similar persecutions as Lollards, the Scotch-Irish colonists had certain characteristics in common with those from England. To them, as to many of the English, religious interests were of primary importance. They were equally sober, industrious, independent and persistent. Like experiences had given to them an abhorrence of everything associated with the Roman Catholic Church; and this had been intensified in the Scotch-Irish both by close neighborhood with dispossessed Irish Catholics, and through the fighting between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland during the Revolution of 1688, and especially through the atrocities of the siege of Londonderry. Equally with the English, too, they held the Bible to be the authority upon religious truth.

In certain other respects they were different from the English emigrants. Having more Celts among their ancestors, they are supposed by many to have inherited a greater emotional intensity. Instead of being divided into diverse sects, they were all Presbyterians, the four Presbyterian bodies found in Scotland and Ireland not differing greatly in church government. This single type of religious polity was strongly centralized, instead of being congregational, as were the sects of the English. They had a highly developed theology, expressed in a catechism with which the people were generally familiar. One of their most cherished beliefs was predestination. They had ministers trained in the universities of Scotland.

Germans and Others from Central Europe: The spirit of protest against the claims and abuses of the Roman Catholic Church was introduced into Bohemia about the beginning of the fifteenth century by writings of Wyclif, which influenced John Huss and through him many followers. Huss was martyred, and repeated attempts were made to exterminate his followers. These were in vain, and the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren still held the faith of Huss at the beginning of the Reformation.

Luther's vigorous accusations against the Catholic Church, beginning in 1517, soon led some of the German princes to withdraw the churches of their dominions from papal control. In this way Lutheran churches, patterned after the ideas of Luther, arose in many states, chiefly in northern and central Germany; and in southwestern Germany there grew up Reformed churches, patterned according to the principles of Calvin. Both Lutheran and Reformed churches were established churches, and the religion of each prince was enforced throughout his dominions. In the sixteenth century and again in the first half of the seventeenth, bitter and destructive religious wars between Catholic and Protestant powers laid waste Germany, especially that part of it called the Palatinate, which lay about the upper courses of the Rhine. Gradually toleration of these state religions was won, first for the Lutheran churches and later for the Reformed. Both these churches had centralized forms of polity not unlike the Presbyterian.

Outside these established churches many sects had been growing up among the common people ever since the early part of the fifteenth century. The independent Protestants insisted that religion was a matter not of conformity by states but of personal experience on the part of individuals. Uneducated preachers using the Bible as their sole authority gathered small groups of converts in the German states, the Netherlands and Switzerland. They were early called Anabaptists, that is Re-baptists, because they held baptism to be a symbol of conversion for adults only, considering the baptism of infants valueless, and therefore they baptized their converts afresh. These independent religionists held themselves apart from other men, adopting plain garments and avoiding worldly contacts and pleasures. Some of them held principles similar to communism. They were in general very sober and industrious, and where let alone their communities prospered.

But they were never left undisturbed for long. Early in their history (1534) Anabaptists got control of the city of Münster. Their rule was characterized by wild abuses, and was forcibly ended in the following year by Lutherans and Catholics in cooperation. This episode, and the communistic views of some Anabaptists, with their refusal to take oath or to baptize their children, intensified the persecutions against them. They were driven from one continental country to another. From them arose the Mennonites, many of whom at length found their way to Pennsylvania, where William Penn's colony of Quakers offered religious freedom to all.

Later on other independent movements developed through reaction against what was felt to be the formalism of the Protestant established churches and toward heart-felt personal piety. One of the sects arising in this way consisted of the Dunkers, or Brethren, who formed their first church in 1708. Their beliefs and practices were similar to those of the Mennonites, except that they practised triple immersion, that is, the dipping three times of the candidate for baptism. About 1719 they began to migrate to Pennsylvania, whither a majority of the sect soon followed them.

The Palatinate, which had been devastated over and over again during the religious wars, was afterward invaded three times by the generals of Louis XIV with orders to burn and plunder, the last and worst invasion being in 1688. The inhabitants came to feel that the hard labor with which they had repeatedly restored their homes and farms was never going to be of any use. The Elector John William took measures to force the people back to the Catholic Church. Then a great migration began, which persisted in spite of threats by the elector to kill those who should try to leave. Some went to England, where they were helped to go to America. Others got to America as redemptioners, promising their labor for the first three to seven years in America in return for their passage.

Many Germans came to America also from other sections of southwestern Germany, particularly from Wurttemberg and Baden, and also from Switzerland. They were impelled to leave their homes by the ruin following war, by political oppression and by religious persecutions; and at the same time they were tempted to emigrate by the agents of transportation companies and of land companies, who got a commission for those they persuaded to go.

The German emigration, beginning with a few groups late in the seventeenth century, became rapid about 1710 and continued to the time of the American Revolution. The Germans coming to America were Protestants, some being Lutheran, some Reformed, and others belonging to independent denominations, such as the Mennonites and the Dunkers. Most of them were farmers.

Their experiences had bred in them characteristics not unlike those exhibited by the racial stocks previously described. They had dogged persistence and habits of industry. They were serious-minded. They reverenced the Bible as the great authority regarding faith and conduct. Persecution and the traditions of martyrs to the faith had roused in them rooted devotion to their own form of religion.

The Lutherans and the Reformed were alike in having denominations of centralized policy that had been established churches in their native land, and in having high regard to the creeds, the discipline and the ministers developed by these denominations. The chief points of difference were that, whereas the Lutherans had retained a high estimate of the efficacy of the sacrament, the Reformed held views about it more like those of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and the English Dissenters; and, secondly, that the Reformed believed in predestination while the Lutherans did not.

The Mennonites, Dunkers and members of other independent sects had some peculiar qualities. As their experience of religious persecution had been more intense and had been repeated in refuge after refuge, the members of each local group had come to stick more closely together, and to hold more resolutely apart from "the world." They clung to their peculiar dress and customs; and their doctrinal views became fixed. Of necessity, the church government of the isolated groups was congregational, and their ministers were uneducated and unpaid, being usually farmers. Some had distinctive forms of baptism: the Mennonites usually baptized by pouring, the Dunkers, as has been said, by immersing the candidate three times. Some of these sects practised foot-washing.

Other Racial Strains: Another stock represented among the settlers of the Highlands, though having far fewer families than those previously considered, was that of the Huguenots. These Protestants of France, having arisen under the influence of Calvin, had a Presbyterian form of church polity. They suffered intensely during much of the sixteenth century from religious wars, widely extended persecutions and wholesale massacres. After a long period of civil liberty and of freedom of worship in certain districts under the Edict of Nantes, they again endured a period of bitter persecution culminating in the revocation of this edict. Thereupon a million Huguenots, including many from the professional and skilled artizan classes, left France for other countries; and some of them came to American colonies neighboring the Highlands. The presence of occasional French names and of traditional claims to a French origin, show that some Huguenots came to the Highlands, but groups of families of this stock did not settle there in permanent colonies.

Some Highland Scotch also, after the rebellion of Prince Charlie in 1745, came to the southern states, especially South Carolina; and it is considered probable that scattering families penetrated into the hill country.

The Racial Elements Compared

At first thought the elements destined to be mingled in the Highlands would seem to exhibit a high degree of diversity. They differed in race and in language. The church polity of some was highly centralized while that of others was congregational. In doctrine some believed in predestination and others in free grace. For different elements among them baptism was administered by sprinkling, by pouring, and by at least two forms of immersion.

Yet in spite of these differences, those of the colonists who came largely for religious reasons, having passed through similar experiences, exhibited certain fundamental points of agreement. To them all, religion had become a matter of vital importance, for which they would make almost any sacrifice. They had all come to associate with the Roman Catholic Church memories and traditions of martyrdom and persecution; so that they regarded with aversion every symbol and ceremony associated with Catholicism.

On the other hand, they had accepted the Bible as their standard of truth, and they thought and spoke in Bible terms. Moreover, they had developed to an unusual degree certain sturdy traits of character - courage, hardihood, integrity and persistence. They were more intelligent than most people of their rank were likely to be in those days, their wits having been sharpened by reading the Bible, listening to sermons, and disputing on points of doctrine. Most important of all, perhaps, they were all folk that tended to see the unpopular side, to differ with the average man, in short to be individualists. Finally, the fact that in spite of obstacles they had taken the tremendous leap into the dark that emigration must have seemed in those days, bespeaks in them unusual ambition and initiative.

The New Land and Its Settlers

The highland region to which the groups of colonists described above unconsciously converged forms the southern part of the Appalachian Mountain system, which was so long a barrier to westward migration. As the map that forms the frontispiece shows, the Southern Appalachian Highlands extend from the southern boundary of Pennsylvania to the lowlands along the Gulf of Mexico, and include the western part of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, the eastern part of

West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, and a portion of the northern end of South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama. The region has three zones running the long way of the barrier. On the east stand the Blue Ridge Mountains, a narrow chain at the northern end, but widening to the south into a complicated maze of peaks and ranges. On the west lies the Alleghany-Cumberland Plateau, for the most part deeply furrowed by watercourses and declining slowly westward. Between these two rugged sections lies the Great Valley, which itself is some hundreds of feet higher than the general level beyond the bordering mountains. It is literally a succession of valleys, in which lie the upper courses of many rivers, which pass out of the long trench either at the ends or through gaps in the mountain walls. On the east in North Carolina and westward in West Virginia, broad and fertile river valleys extend up among the hills. These valleys, especially the Great Valley between the bordering ranges, formed the easiest avenues of approach.

Most of the colonists that eventually settled in the Highlands lived first in more accessible sections of the colonies.

English: The migration from England, in particular, was at its height nearly a century before the beginning of the settlement of the Highlands; so that the English families may well have lived for several generations in other parts of America. Some are known to have sojourned in New England, in Pennsylvania, in lowland Virginia and in eastern North Carolina. These English for the most part were not then of the denominations to which they adhered later in the Highlands, although a few were Baptists or Quakers before crossing the Atlantic. The greater part of the English colonists were Puritans or Independents, terms indicating attitudes rather than denominations.

But not all the English settlers, it will be remembered, were strong religionists. Some came for economic reasons only. Others were political prisoners or persons convicted of minor crimes. Moreover, the fact that churches were not yet well established in colonial days tended to laxity of religious observances.

Germans: Hardly any Germans or Scotch-Irish came to America before 1709, but by 1720 immigration from both sources was in full swing. The persecuted German Protestants had been invited by William Penn to take refuge from persecution in his colony, and many settled in southeastern Pennsylvania. There the redemptioners, having worked out their freedom as they had agreed to do before they crossed the sea, began to farm for themselves; and with their thrifty, industrious ways and their agricultural skill they soon accumulated a little money.

Scotch-Irish: Within a few years after the earliest Germans, the Scotch-Irish began to come to America in a rapidly increasing tide. They were encouraged by the authorities to go to the western edge of the settled area, since their courage and energy rendered them valuable outposts against the Indians and the French. Some halted for a time in southeastern Pennsylvania, the majority in the western part of the district; and others made their way still farther on into the western and southwestern parts of Pennsylvania. Though the latter were recalled in 1750 by the authorities on account of danger from the Indians, they returned after the close of the French and Indian War and the building of a fort in the vicinity of the present Pittsburg.

Settlement of the Highlands

1730 to 1776: In 1730 no part of the Highlands was inhabited by white colonists. It had merely been visited by occasional hunters, traders and trappers. Indian bands passed over the trails to hunt or to make war; and under the influence of the French they formed a serious danger. But by about 1730 southeastern Pennsylvania had become rather densely inhabited.

The lower, northeastern, end of the Great Valley, with its level floor and its fertile limestone soil, lay open to the colonists. Grants of large stretches of territory were secured; and land was offered on much cheaper terms than in Pennsylvania. Germans in large numbers established themselves in this part of the Highlands. They chose good valley land, on which they settled in colonies. Scotch-Irish went in also, and a much smaller number of English. About 1745 the whole Highland area of Virginia was organized as two counties, Frederick and Augusta; and by the middle of the century the lower part of the valley, stretching from Pennsylvania southwest to the divide between the head waters of the Roanoke and of the New River, was well occupied.

Settlement of the upper or southwestern part of the Valley came about more slowly. The country was rougher, and the danger from Indians was greater. Before reaching the watershed between the Roanoke and the New River systems many immigrants turned off down the Roanoke River through the Blue Ridge, and passed on to the Carolina Piedmont, where they met other settlers who had entered America by the ports of Charleston and Wilmington. This southern contingent included, besides English, Germans and Scotch-Irish, a considerable number of French Huguenots and Scotch Highlanders.

Little by little, during the third quarter of the century, while the occupation of the lower part of the valley continued, scattering groups of settlers ventured over the watershed into the valley of southwestern Virginia. Some settlements grew up about a fort, built in the wilderness to prevent the Indians from approaching the earlier settlements or to defend a road. Others were occasioned by a mine or by hot springs. During the same period, moreover, settlers of all three principal races crept from Pennsylvania down the narrower valleys parallel to the Great Valley on the west; and colonists in the Carolina Piedmont found their way into the valleys that led up among the mountains.

In 1770 and the few succeeding years, the first comers settled in eastern Tennessee, part of them coming down the Valley of Virginia, and others passing through the mountains from the Piedmont of North Carolina. The several settlements thus formed united for self-government in the Watauga Association. But there were still very few settlers in Tennessee in 1776.

At the beginning of the Revolution, then, settlement was well advanced in the lower valley of Virginia; a few groups of families had found a foothold at many widely separated points in the upper valley in southwest Virginia; and there were small colonies in the part of the Great Valley lying in eastern Tennessee, and in the valleys along the edges of the Highlands in North Carolina and in West Virginia. Some of these pioneers in the Highlands won the battle of King's Mountain in critical days of the Revolution.

1776 to 1790: In all these districts settlement went on even during the Revolutionary War, and at an increasing speed after it.

To Kentucky very few explorers or settlers had penetrated before the Revolutionary War, partly because of the difficulties of the long journey, and partly on account of the danger from Indians. After the war the colonization of that territory began in earnest. The Wilderness Road, over which settlers traveled, passed through Virginia along the Great Valley to about the Tennessee line, thence by a roundabout route lying generally northwestward to the Cumberland Gap, just about where the boundaries of Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky join, and from there northwestward through the highlands and forests to middle Kentucky. A feeder of this road passed from the North Carolina Piedmont along the Catawba and Watauga rivers to join the main route at about the Tennessee-Virginia line. Over this Wilderness Road passed Scotch-Irish, English, a smaller proportion of colonists of German origin, and others of miscellaneous stocks. On reaching Kentucky, the pioneers did not stop in the mountains, which were then uninhabited, but went on to more promising sections in the Blue Grass and elsewhere. Hence later on many families crept back into the Highlands.

How rapidly colonization progressed can be seen from the county figures of the first United States census, taken in 1790, less than sixty years after the first permanent settlement in the Highlands. At that time the comparatively few counties into which the territory of the Highlands was then organized already contained more than 187,000 inhabitants.* Nearly half of these, practically 100,000, lived in the lower or northeastern part of the Great Valley. In the Valley in southwestern Virginia there were nearly 9,000; in Tennessee, more than 28,000; in North Carolina, about 31,000;* and west of the Great Valley, in Virginia and West Virginia, about 14,000.

The ancestors of many of the present inhabitants of the Highlands were already in this region by 1790; for Dr. John C. Campbell has shown that of 1085 surnames common today in the Highland sections of North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, 663, or three-fifths, were included in lists of the 1790 census as residing in the same general region.**

1790 to 1850: Shortly before the end of the eighteenth century, the character of the immigration to the Highlands showed some change. On the one hand, the migration of Germans and Scotch-Irish down the Valley from Pennsylvania gradually slackened, partly because the high tide of European colonists of those races was spent, and partly because northern routes to the West became safer from the Indians than formerly, especially after a treaty with England in 1795 turned the Lake forts over to the United States. On the other hand, migration both to the Highlands and through the Highlands to territory farther west became greater from eastern Virginia and North Carolina. The small farmers in these older sections were handicapped by having to compete with large plantations using slave labor. Moreover, their productions were no longer imported by England, which could obtain the same articles from colonies in the West Indies that remained under British rule. This, among other conditions, occasioned an economic depression which affected all the poorer people. Besides, the Baptists, who had multiplied in Virginia, and who had long been struggling with the Established Church, were drawn by the hope of religious freedom. Many Virginians went to North Carolina; and thence Virginians and Carolinians moved to Kentucky. Others traveled from Virginia to West Virginia over the Midland Trail and other routes through the Alleghany Mountains. This later migration consisted largely of families of English stock. Besides small farmers it included artizans, tradesmen, and tavernkeepers, with a small proportion of educated men - doctors, preachers, and the like.

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*Virginia counties partly in the Piedmont and partly on the slopes of the Blue Ridge were not considered in the investigation, because settlement had not yet reached the parts of these counties that fall within the Highlands; and for a similar reason the border counties in South Carolina were excluded. On the other hand, the North Carolina counties had settlers in the valleys stretching up into the Highlands, and the population figures for these counties was therefore included although they also contain dwellers in the Piedmont. For this reason the figures for North Carolina are unavoidably too high.

**Data from Campbell, The Southern Highlander and His Homeland (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1921), p. 62.

From other states near and far came a great variety of settlers. Ex-soldiers came to occupy lands that had been given them as bounties. Younger sons of good families came seeking a better opportunity than was open to them at home. The discovery of gold in northern Georgia in 1828 brought a horde of gold seekers; and when land bought for mining purposes proved not to contain gold, some of the disappointed purchasers sometimes remained to farm. Fugitives from justice found a refuge among the hills. Men who had failed elsewhere found cheap living conditions. Travelers to lands farther west are supposed to have had their journey cut short by a broken axle. Some who had passed through the Highlands returned to the hills in search of hunting and trapping, of freedom and cool air, and of salt and other forms of mineral wealth. By 1850 the Highlands as mapped in the frontispiece contained about one and three-fifths millions of inhabitants.

The broad valleys, both in the main trench and in the edges of the Highlands, were settled first. Of the narrower valleys, those readily accessible through traveled highways were usually claimed earlier by settlers. The order of settlement was partly dependent on the dates when Indian lands were released by treaties, of which at least eight were concluded in the years

1770 through 1838. Nowhere in the Highlands were the mountains proper, or the isolated hilly districts, settled much before 1800; in some parts settlement did not begin till 1810 or later; and complete occupation of all the branches and hollows was a matter of many decades. The rougher and steeper districts were settled in part by the natural increase of the earlier settlers.

Distribution of Settlers of Different Races

Germans: Great numbers of Germans settled in colonies in the lower, northeastern part of the Great Valley in Maryland, northeastern West Virginia and Virginia, and to some extent in the higher parts of the Valley in southwestern Virginia. Many of them also made their homes all over the northern part of West Virginia. Germans have ever since inhabited these sections, so that churches of the same German denominations that the settlers brought with them are common there today. In 1926, six-sevenths of the churches of German denominations in the Highlands were found in Virginia, West Virginia and Maryland. On the other hand, only scattered churches of German denominations were present in the valley sections of Tennessee, North Carolina and Alabama. The original German settlers sought for good valley farms in sections where they could live near together in communities; and they clung to these farms and communities.

Outside these sections individual families with German names are found almost everywhere in the Highlands. Dr. Campbell, in the investigation cited above, found that in Georgia and North Carolina German names formed about one-fifth of the total number; in Tennessee, one-seventh; and in Kentucky, one-twelfth. But even in Kentucky, where surnames of German descent are least common, there are found in several of the most rugged and isolated counties many families named Amburgey, a name corrupted from the German "Hamburger."

Scotch-Irish: The Scotch-Irish planted their Presbyterian churches early, both in the Great Valley in Virginia and Tennessee, and in the side valleys, especially in North Carolina, and to this day Presbyterian churches are very largely in the valley sections. But Scotch and Irish names are common all over the Highlands: among those of Dr. Campbell's sample, they formed one-third of the names from North Carolina and from Tennessee, four-tenths of those from Georgia, and three-tenths of those from Kentucky.

English: Among Dr. Campbell's surnames, the proportion English was about the same as the proportion Scotch-Irish in three of the states, and was somewhat higher in Kentucky. Mixed as was the stock, however, the culture of the Highlands as a whole is generally recognized as predominantly English. The language is an archaic English; the games and dances are English. Of the churches, moreover, seven out of eight are neither Presbyterian nor of any of the German denominations, but are of denominations brought by the English or introduced later by leaders of English stock; and about the same proportion holds for church membership.

Moving On

Migration took place not only to the Highlands but within this region. From the beginning the settlement of many families had been deliberately temporary or at most tentative. A man went to Pennsylvania, and thence to Virginia. His son went on to North Carolina, and his grandson, perhaps, to Kentucky. A considerable proportion of the Germans, to be sure, settled down permanently once they found a favorable site; but many families of English descent kept moving on, and so to an even greater extent did families of Scotch-Irish blood. For example, according to the History of Pendleton County, West Virginia, the Scotch-Irish in that county "being restless and venturesome, many of them passed on to newer locations, and thus caused a relative decline in their number." *

Those moving on sometimes passed beyond the limits of the Highlands. This was natural enough, for in early days the Wilderness Road through Cumberland Gap was the regular route westward; and even after northern ways were open, this road and others were still traversed by

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*Oren F. Morton, A History of Pendleton County, West Virginia (Franklin, West Virginia; 1910), p. 173.

travelers going west from the eastern parts of Virginia and North Carolina. The strong tide flowing westward undoubtedly carried with it many that had tarried for a while in the Highlands. Highland stock was therefore selected not only positively by migration from Europe and ultimately to the Highlands; it was also selected negatively by outward migration from the Highlands to the West.

Characteristics Selected by Remaining in the Highlands

In judging those who stayed in the Highlands, it must be remembered that there was less difference then than today between the Highlands and neighboring areas. Everywhere roads were poor, the forests were only partly to be cleared away, institutions had not been developed. And no one knew that the Highlands were to stand still for generations, cut off from the rest of the world. Moreover, if many of the most ambitious and enterprising left the mountains, on the other hand so did those impractical wanderers, always dreaming of better luck somewhere else, that form an unstable element of pioneer communities.

Not all those that stayed in the Highlands, of course, formed desirable elements of the population. Many handicapped or ineffective persons, doubtless, after failing elsewhere, found on cheap highland land a haven where they could live without money. And fugitives from justice found a permanent refuge among the hills, as did other rogues shunning the restrictions of settled and better-governed districts.

Nevertheless, many people of sterling qualities remained in the Highlands for very good reasons. Some had secured a fertile valley farm or some other opportunity for making a comfortable livelihood. Others had family responsibilities that prevented them from taking the chances involved in onward migration.

Most important of all, the hollows and winding valleys among the woods and hills, where families could live in independence and isolation, appealed to the quality of individualism that has been shown to characterize each of the three racial stocks that sent colonists to the Highlands. And as on the whole the more individualistic persons left their homes in Europe, so in this later day the more individualistic remained in the Highlands. By the fact of remaining the quality of individualism was therefore selected a second time.

Characteristics Developed by Pioneer Life

Individualism, moreover, is emphasized by historians among the qualities strengthened in American pioneers under the conditions of the frontier. The tendency inherited by so many Highlanders was fostered by the struggle for existence of widely separated families under circumstances of stress and of danger. The members of each family group had only themselves to rely on. The interests of the household were largely independent of the interests of other households. The extreme individualism resulting had important consequences for the church situation.

Another pioneer characteristic, according to the historians, was emotional instability. The long, intense struggle with the wilderness, largely unbroken by recreation, produced a craving for emotional excitement, and often resulted in sudden outbreaks of passionate feeling. The emotionalism of the frontier also affected the religious phenomena of the Highlanders.

Still another recognized peculiarity of frontiersmen that is important for its bearing on church life, is the reliance on natural ability unaided by special training. Each pioneer had to be a jack-of-all-trades; he came to believe in the innate capacity of the average man to do anything well enough for practical purposes. His standard of excellence was thus necessarily lowered.

The Effect of Isolation

After 1850 the westward migration through the Highlands practically ceased; and while neighboring territory gradually acquired turnpikes and railroads, these improvements did not come to the Highlands. The people left behind were pretty much forgotten by the world outside. They were largely cut off from participation even in the affairs of their own states. They multiplied; and children, marrying young, built cabins up stream from those of their parents. The characteristics brought with them and encouraged by the frontier environment were perpetuated. And the institutions that had been theirs when isolation shut them in, they kept with little change for several generations.

The Church Situation in Early Days

Churches began to be planted very early. The Germans, who often settled in colonies representing a single denomination, and the Presbyterian Scotch-Irish, who also frequently traveled and settled in groups of families, both did their best to start churches. Sometimes a minister was included in a company of settlers; in other instances appeals for ministers were sent to denominational officials in Europe or in older colonies. By such agencies of several denominations missionaries were sent on regular preaching trips among the new settlements. Baptist preachers, earnest if untrained, were found among the immigrants to North Carolina and to Kentucky; and before long Methodist circuit riders were making visits at long but fairly regular intervals even on the farthest frontier. Churches are on record that were established very early. A list of early Presbyterian churches, for example, contains thirty-five within the Highlands, most of them in the Great Valley, that were organized before the Revolutionary War, and forty-five more that were formed between the Revolution and 1800.

Yet though the settlers desired religious ministrations and made earnest efforts to secure them, the people were so scattered and the difficulties so great that the churches were few and far between. And those in existence in the Highlands, as in frontier America in general, were rudimentary in character. The church building, if any existed, was a one-room structure of logs or boards, with rough benches, a platform, and upon this a pulpit. Rare preaching services constituted the whole religious program. Trained ministers being very few, the preacher was often a layman. Lay preaching, it will be remembered, was one of the traditions of certain of the racial elements in the population; and it was readily accepted in the days of settlement on account of the jack-of-all-trades standard of the pioneer.

The distance apart of churches of any one denomination, and especially the difficulties in communicating with any denominational headquarters, tended to increase the relative importance of the local congregation. This lessened the authority of denominations with centralized polity, and favored the development of churches of the congregational type of organization.

The absence of opportunities for social intercourse other than the meetings for preaching, together with the rarity of even these meetings, made religious gatherings the more highly prized. And the monotony, the hardships, the perils and the tragedies of frontier life might well be expected to prepare the minds of the settlers for the message of the preacher. Immediate contact with great natural forces, against which the struggles of puny man must frequently be in vain, emphasized the fatalistic beliefs inherited by many of the colonists.

The churches were so far apart that very many of the settlers were not within the range of influence of any regular religious services. Moreover, in the absence of strong local governments the spirit of lawlessness was abroad. This spirit was intensified by the presence of fugitive criminals and other hard characters. Strong drink was the chief reliance as a medicine in illness or exposure, was employed as a spur in the crises of strenuous toil, and was considered an almost indispensable adjunct to social intercourse; and naturally drunkenness was common. Under these conditions many people brought up to go to church and to live an orderly life felt unsatisfied and uneasy of conscience.

American Religious History

Several movements in the early religious history of America, most of which centered near the Highlands, had important results for the church situation in this region.

Development of the Baptists: Of these movements the earliest was the spread of the Baptists. Anabaptists from central Europe, after taking refuge in Holland, spread their doctrines in the British Isles, where they had a few churches at the period when colonists were migrating from Great Britain to America.

In the American colonies there arose very early a few widely scattered Baptist churches. These Baptists were called General Baptists, because they believed that salvation was open to all men in general. Five of these churches combined in 1707 as the Philadelphia Association. Later on this Association, the churches of which had come to be called Regular Baptist churches, adopted a confession of faith which included a belief in predestination. After the Great Awakening in 1734, in which Whitefield was a leading preacher, certain groups that separated from New England Congregational churches adopted Baptist principles; and they came to be called Separate Baptists. Instead of believing in predestination, they held that salvation was open to all men. Separate Baptist preachers moved to Virginia and North Carolina. There they often preached out of doors to large congregations; and under these conditions arose the peculiar rhythmical cadence which is still employed by old-time mountain preachers. People often came a long way, and sometimes spent the night on the scene of the meeting. The Baptist preachers were uneducated and very emotional. Their meetings were scenes of great excitement, during which individuals sometimes fell to the ground, where they lay in a trance. The better-educated people in Virginia distrusted and scorned the Baptist preachers, and the established church persecuted them. Although this struggle did much to bring about freedom of worship, the persecutions led numbers of Baptists to leave Virginia; and many went to the Highlands, especially to Kentucky. Baptist preachers among these colonists soon made converts; and Baptist churches spread rapidly. Some Separate Baptist churches in Kentucky allied themselves with associations of Regular Baptists; and later on part of the churches of these two kinds of Baptists combined under the name "United Baptists." Regular and United Baptists with other ancient Baptist sects persisted in the seclusion of the Highlands, retaining their primitive beliefs and practices.

The Baptists were adapted to pioneer conditions in several ways. The control of church affairs was in the hands of the local congregation. The preachers were laymen who supported themselves. These men took the initiative in preaching whenever they found an opportunity; and they were earnest, vigorous, devoted men of considerable rude eloquence. Their insistence on conversion and righteousness of life impressed uneasy consciences. The form of baptism they practised, immersion, seemed to many the form intended in the New Testament, and therefore appealed to the deeply rooted reverence of the Highlanders of all racial stocks for the words of the Bible, as well as to the human love of impressive drama. The arguments for and against predestination of the different kinds of Baptists were familiar and acceptable lines of thought. Baptists soon became more numerous in the Highlands than the representatives of any other denomination; and they still hold this position of leadership today.

Rise of the Methodists: Unlike the Baptist churches, which had made a good start before the colonization of the Highlands began, Methodism arose during the settlement of the more southern parts of the Highlands. Wesley only began preaching in England while the German and Scotch-Irish were pouring into the northern part of the Great Valley, and Asbury came to America just about the time the earliest settlements were being made in the Holston country of Tennessee. Very soon after, Asbury and his circuit riders began to make regular preaching trips all over the frontier as fast as there were any people to hear them.

To lawless men with no religion, and to those who in the wilderness had lost touch with former religious practices, the Methodists preached a doctrine of salvation for all who would become converted, and a heartfelt personal religious experience, expressing itself in holiness of life. Just as the predestination of many Baptist preachers appealed to the fatalism of the pioneers, so the Methodist doctrine of the equality of all men as regards salvation was adapted to the democracy of the frontier. The homely, uneducated circuit riders and local preachers were readily accepted, and the great earnestness and emotional appeal of their preaching won many converts. Most important of all, the thorough way by which the whole countryside was early covered by circuits introduced Christian ideas as a leaven into germinating communities and thus forwarded the progress of civilization. At the beginning this work was largely independent of local support. Methodism enlisted men that Baptist doctrines did not attract, while, like the Baptists, familiarizing the settlers with the ministry of uneducated and unsalaried preachers. At the same time, by introducing a new denomination, Methodism had a part in preparing the denominational competition of the Highlands at the present day.

The Great Revival in the West: To understand the Great Revival in the West it is necessary to bear in mind two things. The first is the wild background of the frontier, with the uneasiness it bred in the consciences of naturally religious people. The second is the efforts to Christianize the frontier that had been conducted for more than thirty years, not only by the Methodist and Baptist preachers, but by the ministers of the denominations the Scotch-Irish and the Germans had brought with them - the Presbyterian, the Lutheran, the Reformed and others. A practice had grown up of holding open-air meetings, often lasting for several days, to which people came from long distances, and at which emotional appeals were made to bring about conversions. The Baptists had held such meetings early; the Methodists followed their example, and the Presbyterians, who had experienced a powerful revival before leaving Ireland, sometimes held on the American frontier large meetings at which the sacrament was administered.

In eastern Tennessee, about 1790, there was a revival, during which the mourner's bench was introduced, and the practice of continuing the meetings for a number of days was strengthened. In July, 1800, the first camp-meeting on a large scale was held in Kentucky, west of the Highlands, under a Presbyterian minister. There was much weeping and shouting, and forty-five persons are reported to have been converted.

Similar meetings spread very rapidly. They were usually held by Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists conjointly. They took place not only in Kentucky but in Tennessee, the Carolinas, western Virginia and beyond the Ohio River. Many were held in highland territory, though the largest meetings were in Kentucky, in sections outside the Highland part of the state, which indeed had hardly begun to be settled. These camp-meetings continued to be held till late in 1803.

At what is considered the most important of these meetings, the one at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, the attendance was 10,000 at the lowest estimate, and by many was believed to be even as high as 25,000. At this camp-meeting, services were held for six days and nights almost without intermission. Many physical phenomena took place. Some persons fell and lay unconscious on the ground. Many, even of those who came out of curiosity, were taken with spasmodic jerks. Some rolled on the ground, and others ran or danced or barked or laughed hysterically. Others experienced visions or trances. Many were converted and began at once to exhort others to repentance. Similar phenomena were experienced in the other camp-meetings of this revival.

Some of the results of the Great Revival were of lasting importance. Contemporary witnesses report that public morals were markedly improved. Many new members were received into the churches of the Presbyterians, the Methodists and the Baptists. For example, during the four years 10,000 members were received into the Baptist churches in Kentucky alone. On the other hand, the standard religious experience became, largely through the influence of these camp-meetings, an emotional, explosive conversion. Abnormal excitement came to be craved in connection with religious experience. And the camp-meeting became a regular part of the church year, to be followed in later days by the annual protracted meeting. The last three closely related effects of the revival still prevail in the South and particularly in the Highlands. Moreover, the emotional intensity introduced into the religious situation by this revival resulted in several denominational schisms.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Schism: The first of these, the Cumberland Presbyterian schism, had its roots in certain attitudes and frontier conditions that have been described earlier in the chapter. As has been shown, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians had a tradition of educated, salaried ministers, while some of the English and German settlers were accustomed to lay preaching. Moreover, the early settlers could not afford to pay ministers' salaries, and no colleges and seminaries were at hand in which they could conveniently be educated; while the success of the untrained Methodist and Baptist preachers aroused sentiment in favor of the use of exhorters. The Great Revival precipitated the issue, both by increasing the demand for preachers and by arousing emotional intensity in the ministers. In 1810 arose the Cumberland Presbytery, which later became the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The seceding denomination differed from the main body of Presbyterians not only in making use of uneducated ministers but in holding the doctrine of predestination in a greatly modified form.

The Cumberland split in the Presbyterian Church was important in more ways than one. It made it possible for very weak churches to continue their existence while remaining Presbyterian. Thereafter many of the Presbyterian churches of the Highlands, outside the wider valleys, belonged to the Cumberland body, at least until the majority of the Cumberland Presbyterian churches united with the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., in 1906, and in many cases even to the present day. At the same time, the number of denominations in the region was increased by one; and the jack-of-all-trades standard of the frontier became even more generally applied to preaching.

Rise of the "Christian" Denominations: Two other schisms occurring in connection with the Great Revival were those out of which arose the denominations claiming the name "Christian." The earlier is what is called the "New Light schism." Certain Presbyterian ministers prominent in the revival began at the great camp-meetings to preach "free grace", denying predestination. Suspended by the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky, they formed first an independent presbytery and later a denomination called the Christian Church, in which they hoped that all Christians might be united. To this end they tried to base all their practices on the New Testament. Each local church had control of its own affairs.

A few years later another schism, which also originated in an attempt at Christian union through close adherence to New Testament practices, was inaugurated by the Presbyterian ministers Thomas and Alexander Campbell, with the watchword, "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where they are silent, we are silent." After being nominally Baptist for about fourteen years, the Campbells and their followers formed churches of their own of the congregational form of government, calling themselves "Christians" or "Disciples of Christ". Very many Baptists joined this denomination, as did many belonging to the other Christian denomination.

The origin of these two "Christian" denominations illustrates several familiar tendencies of the church situation on the frontier: emphasis on the authority of the words of the Bible, the tendency away from centralized denominational authority, and preoccupation with the issue between determinism and freedom of the will.

Many of the "Christian" churches clung to the religious customs of the frontier, being especially conservative in their opposition to the use of musical instruments, auxiliaries and Sunday-school literature. In 1906 these primitive churches began to be enumerated by the Religious Census as "Churches of Christ," separate from the Disciples of Christ.

The Anti-Mission Movement: In the first decade of the nineteenth century, there spread abroad in America a great interest in missions. Missionary societies were organized, and several missionary periodicals began to be published. Some of the prominent foreign missionaries in early days were Baptists; and the Baptist churches all over the country were visited and urged to contribute toward the work.

Some Baptists responded generously, but many others, especially in the Highlands, were opposed to missions. The anti-missionaries claimed, first, that since missionary societies were not mentioned in the New Testament, these organizations were not divinely appointed but the invention of men. They declared, secondly, that such societies gave strength to a central denominational body, whereas among New Testament Christians the local church governed itself. In the third place, they believed that the Almighty would save the elect in his own way, and that human efforts toward conversion were therefore useless, officious and even wicked. They also adduced similar reasons against the education of preachers and against Sunday schools.

Behind the reasoning of the Anti-missionary Baptists were motives of which they were not fully conscious. The pioneers were very poor, and could hardly afford contributions for missions, preachers' salaries and Sunday school expenses. In their isolation they had not come to realize the miserable lot of the heathen, which was so vivid to the supporters of the missionary movement. The church members were uneducated, as were the preachers. And the uneducated preachers feared the competition of the educated missionaries. These fortuitous conditions the people, including the preachers, exalted into principles.

The controversy spread and gathered force for several years. Then, beginning about 1820, one Baptist church after another and one association after another split on the question of missions, the more conservative elements seceding as anti-missionary. The arguing and dividing went on for twenty-five years. In 1846 the Anti-missionary Baptists of the United States, though less than a third as numerous as the Missionary Baptists, nevertheless numbered more than 68,000, of whom a very large proportion were either in the Highlands or in the frontier states further to the west and southwest. They belonged to no single denominational body, grouping themselves only in associations, each with its own confession of faith. Any association might send a messenger to the annual meeting of any other association with the doctrines of which it was in agreement. The theological positions of associations differed considerably, the most extreme being those of the Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian Baptists, who believed that good and evil seeds, each eternally unchangeable, were implanted in men. The Anti-missionaries called themselves by various names, of which Primitive Baptist was the most common. Their opponents spoke of them as "hard shells." These Primitive Baptists are still widely spread all over the Highlands, as well as in certain other parts of the United States. The old Regular and United Baptists were also antimissionary in sentiment.

The Anti-missionary movement has had several lasting effects upon the general religious situation in the Highlands. It resulted in further denominational division, by adding new denominations of primitive characteristics. For many people it also strengthened the tendency already present to center religious interest upon doctrinal disputes. It worked for conservatism among Anti-missionaries, through the use of uneducated ministers, the lack of religious training for children, and the intensity with which theological positions were held and handed down. Moreover, the continued presence of Anti-missionaries as the generations passed tended to perpetuate in the minds of others than themselves the conception of a religion that costs nothing, and of the church as a very simple and purely local institution. To this day many churches of denominations not avowedly Anti-missionary, such as the Missionary Baptists and the Disciples of Christ, can hardly be distinguished from Anti-missionary churches in program or attitudes; and church members throughout the Highlands, whatever their denomination, have low standards of local church finances and program, ministerial training, and contributions to missions.

Splits in Denominations on the Slavery Issue: Further splits in denominations came about over the question of slavery. The Methodists divided on this issue in 1844, the Baptists in 1845, and the Presbyterians in 1857. Many Highlanders, not owning slaves and loving personal freedom, were in sympathy with the North. For this reason and because the Highlands lay on the border between the South and the North, feeling ran high. During the Civil War, moreover, unusual suffering was caused in some Highland districts by the devastations of the two armies; and this intensified the spirit of contention.

The Baptists divided by state conventions, so that for them there has resulted no competition among local churches. But for both the Presbyterians and the Methodists, churches of the northern and the southern branches were present in the same Highland district and sometimes in the same community. This was particularly the case for the Methodists. The new denominations, added to those already present, resulted in a division of church resources and an intensification of local antagonisms.

The Holiness Movement: The Holiness movement began about 1870 among groups of ministers in America and England as a reaction against formalism in religion. It emphasized holiness of life and intense personal religious experience, and was spread widely by sporadic revivals in many sections of the United States. For this movement the Highlands offered a favorable soil; since the poverty and ignorance of many of the people, the barrenness of their lives, and their long tradition of intense religious experience, predisposed many to welcome the Holiness meetings. Revivals conducted by self-appointed evangelists began to be held in various parts of the Highlands before 1900; and the excitement of these meetings and the peculiar phenomena sometimes exhibited, attracted large audiences. The local groups of converts, largely drawn from the membership of existing churches, were small, and after a tempestuous experience often died out at one point, leaving disillusionment behind, while new groups were collected elsewhere. The effects upon churches of older denominations were often very weakening. Fifteen perfectionist denominations were represented in the Highlands in 1926.

Preservation of Religious Legacies

The religious attitudes of the past have been perpetuated by tradition. Shut away from the outside world among their hills for several generations, and cut off from the intellectual currents of the age by their lack of books and periodicals and by the inability to read, the Highlanders handed down ancient religious ideas and customs from father to son. As parents passed on to their children methods of making harness, building "stripped" houses and weaving homespun, so they also instilled in them ideas about conduct and theology. Said a young preacher of the Highlands, "When I was a boy, my father used to tell me, 'If there should be a war between Protestants and Catholics, you get into it.'" This anecdote he told as an instance of how the young were indoctrinated before they were able to think for themselves. It is a perfect example of tradition at work. Similar indoctrination went on at preaching services and funerals, when the child listened to the traditional messages of the mountain preacher.

The Total Religious Inheritance

Taken all together what are the chief elements of the religious inheritance of the Highlanders? From far back in their ancestral history in Europe they have derived a strong belief in the reality and importance of religion. From the same remote past has also been handed down a fear of the Roman Catholic Church, which persecuted their ancestors, and a distrust of all forms and symbols, as being associated with the Catholic Church.

From the days of the Reformation has descended a tradition of reverence for the words of the Bible. Biblical texts still form the basis of theological arguments. Widely diverse positions are justified by quotations from the multifarious body of biblical literature. In those far past days, moreover, was planted the belief in the supreme importance of personal salvation.

Practices already usual for certain racial strains of the Highland stock were selected, strengthened and made general by the conditions of colonial America and of the Highlands in early days. Among these are the conventicle type of worship, with its emphasis on preaching, the extensive use of untrained and unpaid or ill-paid ministers, and the large measure of control exercised by the local congregation.

ANTECEDENTS

From very early days in the Highlands have come down churches of certain primitive denominations, such as the Regular and the United Baptists, which in out-of-way corners continue to follow such old-time practices as foot-washing, and the ceremony of hand-shaking at the end of a preaching service. The sermons of the older mountain preachers still follow ancient models both in substance and in delivery. And it is still possible to hear old hymns sung in the old-time way.

From certain movements of American religious history have arisen new denominations, which, added to those introduced into the Highlands by settlers of diverse origins, have contributed to an extreme degree of denominational competition; so that the latest Religious Census reports for the counties of the Highlands a total of nearly one hundred sects.

From the Great Revival, in combination with the craving for intense religious experience characteristic of the Highlanders, have been derived the universal acceptance of the explosive type of conversion as the normal form of religious experience, and the general custom of holding annual protracted meetings. Ancestral attitudes and pioneer background, together with the long history of theological controversy, explain in part the fatalistic attitude of many Highlanders regarding religion, and their passive acceptance of their circumstances, including the traditional minimum religious program. Legacies from many generations of religious ancestors, it is clear, condition and hallow the religious institutions of the Southern Highlands today.

Chapter II

ENVIRONMENT

The preservation in the Southern Highlands of ancient religious attitudes and practices, which was indicated in the preceding chapter, has been made possible by isolation, poverty and other environmental handicaps.

Isolation

Of these conditions the most important is isolation. The Highland region, covering some 90,000 square miles, and containing about four and one-third million inhabitants outside of large cities,* is shut away from the outside world by barriers that for generations preserved there a high degree of seclusion. Along the greater part of its boundaries, the region is uncommonly difficult of access. The long eastern barrier of the Blue Ridge has but few gaps, and these are widely separated. In North Carolina, where the mountainous zone is comparatively broad, the watershed is near the eastern edge. Hence the rivers flowing to the Atlantic either descend rapidly or leave the mountains at an oblique angle, so that the valleys do not afford convenient passage far into the interior of the mountainous territory. Similarly, the plateaus on the western side of the Highlands present in the north a broad maze of narrow winding valleys, and further south a lofty, irregular escarpment. In addition, the parallel positions of the ridges in some sections, and the tortuous labyrinth formed by the valleys in others, form serious obstacles to the penetration of the interior.

Moreover, only four through railway lines, one of which is close to the northern edge, cross the Highlands east and west, though branch lines penetrate into the region for varying distances, especially in sections where resources of timber or coal are being developed. Highways have been built into and even across the Highlands, most of them within the past twenty years; but for long stretches there is still no improved road. Access into the long central valley is easy from either end, and railroads and highways facilitate communication up and down its length; but passage from the valley routes even into hilly sections of the valley itself, and especially into the higher sections to east and west, confronts serious topographical barriers. Even today, then, communication between the recesses of the Highlands and surrounding territory is full of difficulty. During most of the last half of the nineteenth century, the majority of the Highlanders had practically no contact with the world outside and hardly any knowledge of it. Isolation of a modified degree still prevails for dwellers in a large part of the Highlands.

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*In calculating these figures for the area and population of the Highlands as a whole, and corresponding figures for the six principal subdivisions of this region, which will be presented in later chapters, use was made of boundary lines and figures for area by minor civil divisions, both of which were furnished by the national study, and of census population figures for minor civil divisions.

The Highlanders have been isolated not only from the outside world but also from other parts of their own region. Families are separated from one another by steep hills, unbridged streams and tortuous ways. Good as main highways now are, road improvement has failed to reach a very large part of the area. Many a county has just one gravel road, of very recent construction, which connects the county-seat with that of an adjoining county. The other roads are frequently very rough; for some months in each year they are full of deep mud holes, and over large stretches of territory they follow for much of the way the rocky beds of streams. Nearly three farms out of five are on unimproved roads. Plenty of farms are not on any road at all, but are dependent on a bridle track or a log foot-bridge. In time of annual floods, the country people of many districts are obliged to stay at home, or to wait "water bound" wherever a ford proves too deep to cross. A great majority of the families are without telephones - all except those in favored valley sections or along through lines. Mail service for many neighborhoods is provided only three times a week; and to get an answer by mail from a valley five miles away may be a matter of several days.

A condition of another kind that makes for isolation is the fact that the counties of the Highlands are divided among nine different states. This causes a separation not only in political matters, but also in regard to schools, roads, agricultural extension activities, and other matters affecting public welfare.

Furthermore, isolation is intensified by the way the population is distributed. The region has only nine cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants. In cities as large as this live only about one-seventh of the population, a proportion not much more than a third as high as that prevailing for the United States; and a city of this size is out of reach of the great majority of the people. Moreover, incorporated places of from 5,000 to 25,000 inhabitants number only forty-four; and three-fifths of the 170 counties wholly in Highland territory contain no center of as many as 5,000 inhabitants. Many of the county-seats are small, seven out of ten having fewer than 2,500 inhabitants, and four out of ten having fewer than 1,000. Between the scarcity of centers larger than small villages and the obstacles to travel, a large majority of the Highlanders rarely if ever see a town or a city.

A large proportion of the people, moreover, 72.6 per cent., live in rural territory. This proportion is about two-thirds higher than that for the United States. And of the inhabitants of the seventeen counties surveyed, 82 per cent. live in the open country, many of their homes being set at intervals along a creek in a narrow valley, or each by itself up a branch or down a hollow.

Poverty

Closely associated with isolation as a handicap to the people of the Highlands is extreme poverty. The comparative inaccessibility of markets forms a very serious limitation to agriculture, to industry and to the development of natural resources. The poverty of the people delays the improvement of roads, by limiting the amount a county can expend or borrow for road construction. And lack of contact with progressive agricultural methods works toward the continued employment of wasteful and obsolete practices.

Agriculture: The agriculture of the Highlands confronts stubborn natural handicaps. Much of the cultivated land is on steep slopes; and since the average annual rainfall is forty to sixty inches, leaching and washing of the soil frequently result in gravelly, gullied hillsides. The sloping fields also necessitate much human labor under difficult circumstances, since even if farm machinery could be afforded, it would not be adapted to the contour of the land. Men, women and children hoe together in the field, perhaps assisted by a mule in a homemade harness dragging a clumsy, ancient sled. Slopes often mean also a dimunition of the possible amount of sunlight.

Another handicap of many farmers is sterility of soil. Though lands with fertile soils are present in parts of the Great Valley, and elsewhere in scattered stretches, over a large part of the hilly territory the soils are very poor. Moreover, the same fields have been planted to corn for years together; so that most parts of the Highlands have a great deal of run-out land, which is allowed to grow up in weeds and bushes. At the time of the survey conditions were even worse than usual because the region was suffering the consequences of an extreme drought during the previous year.

Farm prosperity is impeded also by the ignorance, conservatism and apathy of many farmers. In some districts these stubborn attitudes are being fought with considerable success by county agricultural agents; but many counties cannot afford such advisers and do not feel the need of them.

The poverty of the generality of Highland farmers is convincingly shown through a few statistics.* In

*The statistics given are for the 116 counties each of which lies for the whole, or practically the whole, extent in some one subdivision of the Highlands. These counties are used in groups as samples of the separate sections and collectively as a sample of the Highlands in general.

the first place, the average Highland farm, according to the federal Census of Agriculture, contained, in 1930, only eighty-four acres, and 46.3 per cent. of all farms contained less than fifty acres each. Farms so limited in size bring in very small incomes. The average income per farm as reported for counties by the Market Data Handbook, published in 1929, averaged $444; and the average income per acre was $5.31. The usual farm equipment is poor, the value of implements and machinery averaging $146 per farm for the entire Highlands, and much less than this for the more rugged sections.

Many Highland farmers, especially among those in the more isolated districts, but including also some living among knobs or coves near prosperous agricultural districts of the valleys, are still working their farms on the maintenance basis usual in pioneer days. That is, they raise almost everything their families require - corn, hogs, shucky beans, sorghum; and they sell a few hogs or turkeys, eggs, chickens, or wool or whisky, to obtain money for the cheapest possible clothing, for a few groceries, and for chewing tobacco or snuff. Such families were not seriously affected by the general depression. They did, however, suffer greatly from the drought of 1930.

Industry: The low degree of agricultural prosperity of most sections of the Highlands is not counterbalanced by industrial prosperity. The leading occupations other than agriculture are those connected with developing the resources of the forests and the mines. All parts of the region afford forest products, consisting chiefly of lumber, fence posts and firewood; and there are a considerable number of small sawmills and woodworking industries. In many districts, however, the accessible forests have been cut off and forest industries are largely a thing of the past. On the other hand, in some remote or precipitous locations the timber has not yet been developed. At the time of the survey, where mills were in operation they were for the most part running with a reduced force.

Coal mines are found in many counties of the Appalachian plateaus; but in 1931, owing partly to the exhaustion of readily accessible strata, partly to low prices after a period of over-production, partly to a tendency to substitute for coal other sources of power, and partly to the general depression, many mines were closed and others were working only to a part of their capacity. Mines of iron, feldspar, mica and other mineral products were undergoing similar experiences, as were clay pits and stone quarries.

The exploitation of the natural resources of the region, moreover, had not on the whole increased the prosperity of the people. Many had sold their rights for very little, and others had not known how to invest the money received. While production went on, business and farming found enlarged opportunities, and tax receipts had risen. But when the mines closed down or greatly reduced operations, unemployment was followed by the exodus of many, and both private and public enterprises had been crippled. In addition, many families who had been drawn from hill farms to the mining camps had lost their habit of living largely on what they raised, and with little or no wages from the mines were in sore straits.

Many textile mills are found in the valley sections and near the Highlands in the Piedmont. Only a few, however, are present in the mountain or plateau sections. Of other industries there are railroad repair shops at certain railway centers, and besides these almost nothing except scattering examples of the usual bakeries, newspaper offices and the like, designed to fill local needs. At the time of the survey these industries were feeling the effects of the general depression.

Overpopulation

Certain other conditions that handicap the Highlanders relate to the population. The number of inhabitants has been steadily increasing ever since the first United States census, in 1790. During each of the past three decades, while the decline of population in most rural areas has been so conspicuous, the number of inhabitants in the Highlands has increased at rates ranging from one-sixth to one-fifth; so that in 1930 the region contained two-thirds as many people again as there had been thirty years previously.

Through this increase, the number of rural inhabitants per square mile had become 45.1, two and one-half times the rural density of the United States as a whole, and higher by two-thirds than that of Vermont, a part of the Northern Appalachian Highlands somewhat comparable in topography to the region under consideration. The Highlands now have more inhabitants than so rugged a district can support in comfort; so that overpopulation combines with the hard natural conditions to intensify the general poverty.

Migrations

In spite of the increase in population, a certain amount of outward migration takes place. Some ambitious young people go away to work in the mills of districts bordering on the Highlands. Others move to the nearer large manufacturing cities of the North, such as Akron or Detroit. Since this can happen only where people have heard of the opportunities for employment offered by such a city, outward migration is more marked in the counties on the edge of the Highlands; where, in fact, the increase in population is at a distinctly lower rate than in the interior of the region.* Many of those going away for work, however, return to their homes later, either because of lack of adaptation to the new environment, or out of preference for their Highland homes. In 1930, owing to the depression, the number of those returning from centers to farms was two and one-third times as large as the number going from farms to centers.**

Nevertheless, many Highland young people that have had a higher education spend their lives outside the Highlands, because there are very few openings in their native region for any kind of work they are trained to do. The people of most mountain counties boast of native sons in city, college or legislature. Those who make permanent places for themselves elsewhere are naturally among the more enterprising and capable individuals.

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*For the 170 counties entirely within the Highlands, population increased 66.5 per cent. between 1900 and 1930. For the sixty-six border counties the per cent. of gain was only 47.7 per cent.

**Based on county data drawn from the Federal Census of 1930, Vol. II.

Health

Health conditions in the Highlands are noticeably bad, in spite of the pure air and the outdoor life. Sanitary arrangements in most sections are primitive or entirely lacking; and the spring floods sweep offal from habitations up stream into the wells of all the families living below them. Typhoid, brought to the Highlands by soldiers returning from the Civil War, is still prevalent. Dysentery is common in some districts. Hookworm continues to be a widespread evil in spite of the extended campaign to eradicate it and the real improvement in some localities; for in large districts the ground is so contaminated that no sooner has a child been freed of the parasite by treatment than, running about on his bare feet, as is the age-old custom, he again becomes infected. Cases of tuberculosis are frequent; pellagra, smallpox and trachoma are not unknown; and epidemics of measles and diphtheria are very common.

In many parts of the area medical and nursing service is utterly inadequate. Qualified doctors are rare and far apart; and the fee required to bring them to remote homes is often prohibitive. In many cases of illness the only treatment received is from quacks, herb women, or "granny women" (untrained midwives). Patients in need of an operation are sometimes carried on cots up and down hill for many miles to get them to a hospital, the exhaustion and exposure frequently resulting in death.

The inroads of disease are supplemented by improper diet. Bacon and corn bread are the staple articles of food. Everything that can be fried is fried, and even vegetables are cooked with an abundance of pork fat. Scarcity of milk and green vegetables results in a poorly balanced ration, and poverty frequently means serious undernourishment.

Vigorous measures are being taken to improve conditions. Most of the states in which the Highlands lie have adopted a policy of county health units. In the counties that have undertaken to cooperate in the support of such units, good work is being done in respect to the improvement of sanitation, the inoculation for typhoid and diphtheria, the examination of school children, the conduct of clinics of many kinds, and the popularization of facts regarding hygiene. The people readily accept inoculation against typhoid, because they can see for themselves that it does prevent the disease. In most other matters their conservatism and inertia make them very slow to accept new ways; and their poverty is a serious obstacle to changes that cost money.

Home demonstration agents, school nurses, the staffs of mission hospitals, Red Cross or public-health nurses, and welfare workers are all helping to ameliorate suffering and to enlighten public opinion; but, after all, such workers are few and far between; and there are numerous districts without any of them. The Frontier Nursing Service is performing a helpful work that is widely known; but the principal achievement of this enterprise is not the excellent work it performs in its necessarily limited field of some 700 square miles, but the example it gives of a practicable method of serving the many tens of thousands of square miles where medical care is still almost entirely lacking.

The poor health and many serious illnesses of the Highlanders result not merely in the loss of time and in the cutting short of valuable lives, but also in a general lack of energy and initiative that tend to hinder aggressive advance for all enterprises, economic, social and religious.

Delayed Development of Schools

Another unfavorable condition in the Highland environment is the recency of the improvement of schools. This subject will be discussed more fully in a later chapter. The middle-aged or old people who now hold positions of leadership did not have much chance for an education in their youth. Few of them received the equivalent of five elementary grades. In general they never acquired the reading habit. Indeed, there are very few libraries in the Highlands, and almost no books, magazines or newspapers. Therefore their information is limited and their power of individual thinking is for the most part little developed. The proportion of the population of ten years and over that cannot read or write, though far less than it was thirty years ago, is still high compared with the proportions prevailing in other parts of the United States. Whereas for the United States as a whole the percentage of illiteracy among native whites of ten years old and over was only 1.5 per cent., for three Highland counties out of four the proportion was 5 per cent. or over, and for one-fifth of the counties it was 10 per cent. or over.

The younger generation have had a better education than their parents, and many young people are now attending high school. The sudden improvement of education has in many places brought about a cleavage between the older and the younger generations in respect to many questions both secular and religious.

Lack of Social Organization

Still another pertinent fact about the Highland environment is that there is very little organization of social relationships. In the villages, to be sure, there are some social groups. These are mostly lodges and local branches of other national agencies, and include 4-H clubs, Home Demonstration clubs, Parent-Teacher Associations and women's clubs. There are also a few local ball teams, bands and cemetery associations.

But in the open country, in which so large a proportion of the people live, there is almost nowhere a social organization of any kind whatever. Some of those present have been introduced by missionary agencies. Outside of these rare exceptions, social life in the country is largely informal, and consists almost entirely of "visiting," that is, calling, among neighboring families usually related by blood. The individualism of the Highlander and his long experience of isolation make corporate action unnatural to him.

On the other hand, the people are unusually homogeneous. There are very few foreign-born, six-sevenths of the counties having an element from foreign lands of less than one per cent., and no county having so large a foreign element as 5 per cent. There are few colored people, six counties out of seven having less than 10 per cent., and two out of three having less than 5 per cent. In the rugged mountain sections, indeed, there are practically no colored people at all. Moreover, most of the people are of families that have lived in the Highlands for many generations. Differences in material prosperity are not very great, and do not constitute social barriers.

Inferior Position of Women

There is, however, inequality between the sexes. Women often wait on the men of the household at mealtime, taking their meal afterwards. They work with the men in the fields - and sometimes instead of the men. A typical remark on the loss of a wife is, "He's lost a good hand." Women frequently have no voice in deciding family problems. Though they vote in some sections of the Highlands, there are other districts where they do not exercise this function. In public places they are often grouped together apart from the men. In churches of primitive sects they sit the other side of the middle aisle; at outdoor gatherings they are likely to stand timidly in the rear. At church business meetings they are expected to keep silence, awaiting explanations from their husbands afterwards.

Pioneer Ethics

In the field of ethics the Highlanders have certain individualistic attitudes derived from pioneer days. During the period when local government was absent or very weak, the enforcement of justice and the punishment of crime rested on the family; and relations helped, defended and avenged one another. Out of this ancestral need grew the feuds for which the Highlanders have been noted. Even today, though hereditary feuds are largely a thing of the past, many witnesses assert the presence of enmity which shows itself, for example, in school matters. In some parts of the region, religious leaders declared, civic morals are still undeveloped: buying votes is as common as buying groceries, so that about election time dollar bills are all withdrawn from the banks; the office of member of the school committee is used for personal gain; and perjury to protect relatives is a general practice.

Moonshining and bootlegging, moreover, are notoriously common in the Highlands. This state of things was made possible in part by the limited contact of the people of early days with the government and the law. Another partial explanation is economic. For generations the Highlanders have transformed their bulky corn into whisky, which is readily transported to market over a steep and rocky trail. Furthermore, the long process of developing public opinion against the liquor traffic, which made possible the passing of the eighteenth amendment in the country at large, was not conducted to anything like the same extent in the Highlands; so that the public was even less ready for prohibition there than in the big cities. However, an increase of sentiment in favor of prohibition was reported in several of the counties surveyed.

Changes

Great changes are taking place in the Highlands today. Isolation is being lessened by the building of roads and the introduction of buses, automobiles and telephones. The new freedom of movement and the enlarged horizon thus made possible have resulted in new standards, new recreations, new desires, and a restlessness hitherto unknown. Agricultural extension workers are teaching the farmers how to earn more money. Mines and factories in some sections of the Highlands and near the borders of the region are causing shifts of population and are modifying the old dependence on maintenance agriculture. The development of national parks and forests is removing the population from some of the districts least well-adapted to farming. School systems are showing rapid improvement; and wider knowledge and new ideas are working in the minds of the young. State and philanthropic agencies are conducting campaigns against poor sanitation and disease. Leaders of Highland origin have been giving their kindred self-confidence. All these changes have imparted to the Highlanders a widening life, and at the same time have brought to them many problems, dangers and temptations that were unknown to their forefathers.

The Sections of the Highlands

This chapter on the environment of the churches of the Highlands has concerned as far as possible the region as a whole, although what has been said does not apply to the cities and not all of it is true of the most prosperous valley districts. The features described - isolation, poverty, belated education and the rest - characterize the rugged portions of the entire region. But after all the Highlands do not form a homogeneous area, but consist of several distinct sections, each with its own distinctive kind of topography. These sections are shown in Diagram III. The six principal subdivisions of the region will now be considered separately, with attention to the points of similarity and of difference, both in the environment and in the church situation.

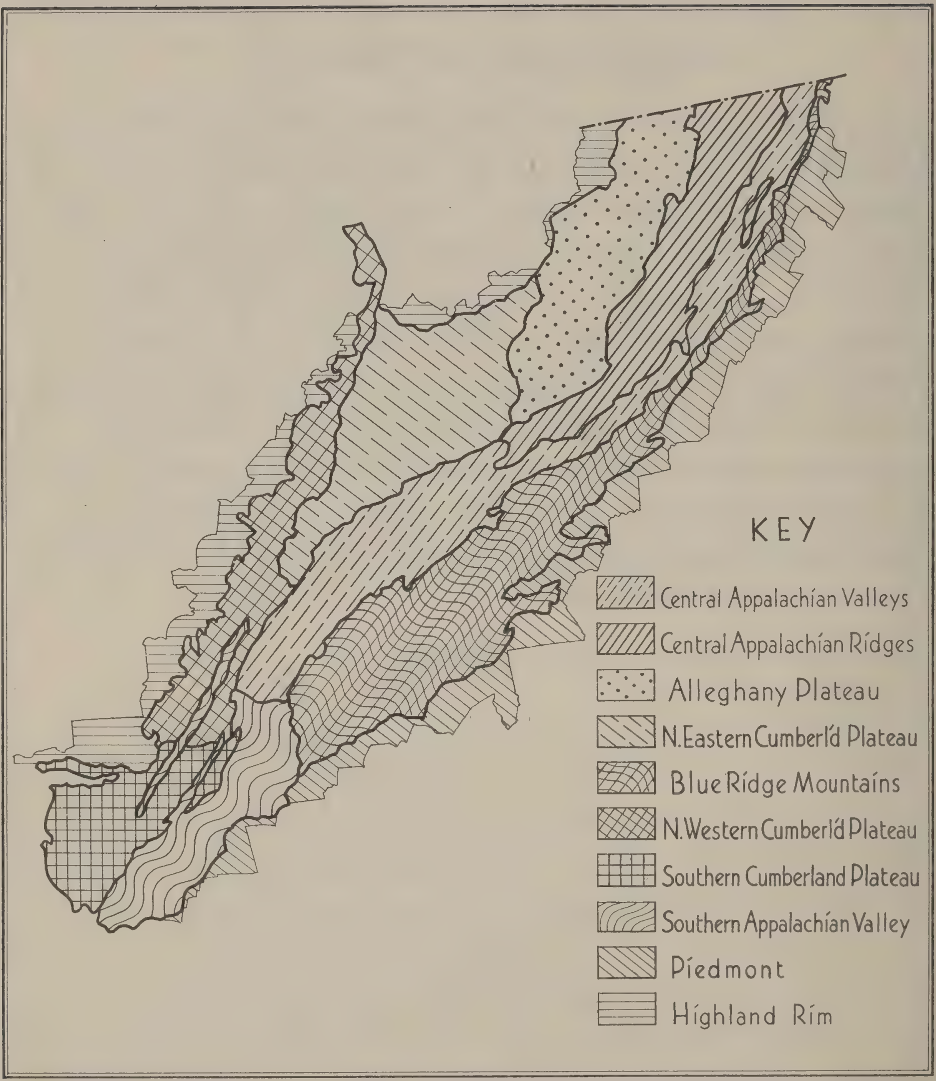
KEY
Central Appalachian Valleys
Central Appalachian Ridges
Alleghany Plateau
N. Eastern Cumberl'd Plateau
Blue Ridge Mountains
N. Western Cumberl'd Plateau
Southern Cumberland Plateau
Southern Appalachian Valley
Piedmont
Highland Rim

DIAGRAM III - MAP SHOWING THE PRINCIPAL SUBDIVISIONS OF THE HIGHLANDS.

Chapter III

THE APPALACHIAN PLATEAUS

The northwestern band of the Highlands is a region of three plateaus, easily distinguished on Diagram III. In the geologic age when coal was being laid down, this territory was near the western shore of a mountainous continent. At some periods the soil was above sea level, and vegetation flourished. Then the surface was submerged beneath the sea, and the vegetation was covered by a layer of sand or silt brought down by streams from the mountains. Many alternations of emergence and submersion resulted in layers of coal, which in some sections numbered as many as fifteen, interspersed with layers of various kinds of rock. Later on the southeastern edge of the zone was tilted up by mountain-making forces, so that the surface of the whole plateau area was made to slope gradually downward toward the northwest. The resistance to erosion of the top layer of rock varied greatly in different sections. It was hardest in the westernmost plateau, called the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau, and softest in the middle one, that is, the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau. The surface of the section to the northeast, termed the Alleghany Plateau, ranked between that of the other two in degree of hardness. The rain and the streams, therefore, cut most deeply into the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, and made least impression on the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau.

The Northeastern Cumberland Plateau

The Northeastern Cumberland Plateau is a large area of over 13,000 square miles. As is shown in Diagram III, it occupies the eastern end of Kentucky, a triangular piece of adjoining territory in West Virginia, and small portions of southwestern Virginia and Tennessee, covering in its whole extent twenty-three entire counties and parts of twenty-two others. It ha in 1930 more than 928,000 inhabitants.

The surface has been minutely trenched by winding streams. So numerous are the creeks, forks and branches, that the topographical map of a single representative county of 373 square miles indicated 339 named streams, that is, nine streams for each ten square miles. The valleys are for the most part V-shaped, with rarely more level space along the banks of the streams than is enough for a cabin and perhaps a garden patch. In exceptional instances at the fork of streams is found a level stretch of alluvial soil of limited extent. The descending streams have cut their beds down to levels commonly from 500 to 800 feet below the altitude of the ridges.

This is the one among all the sections of the Highlands in which isolation is the most extreme.* Other sections of the Highlands hem it in on all sides except to the north, where it is bounded by the Upper Ohio Hills, a district similar in contour except that elevations are lower. The section has no through highways or through railroad lines. Surfaced roads are rare, not yet having reached all the county-seats; and for a large proportion of the mileage the roads are surfaced only with gravel. Other roads - if they can properly be called roads - pass for a good part of the way along the boulder-strewn beds of the streams. Valley land, where any exists, is too valuable for farming to be taken up by a road; and to carve a road bed out of a hillside seems to involve too much labor. Where a road lies on land it is beset by projecting rocks, often too high to permit the passing of an automobile. Grades are steep, turns are abrupt, roots project, and loose rocks lie in the trail. Ruts in the solid rock show that the same obstacles have been permitted to obstruct traffic for generations. The stream beds are beset with quicksands and with deep pools perilous to the stranger.

Travel over these roads is largely by horseback or muleback. Freight goes by "jolt wagon", a long wagon fitly named; but this vehicle is so slow and comfort-less that it is rarely used by passengers; so that the section has been appropriately named the "land of saddle-bags." *

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*Here and elsewhere in the descriptions of the Highlands statements as to relative degrees of isolation and poverty are based on data presented in Appendix I.

The isolation occasioned by methods of travel so slow and difficult is intensified by several circumstances. For one thing, the routes are round-about. Travel is either down one branch, along a creek and up another branch, or up stream to a divide and down another stream on the further side of the ridge. This being the case, married women living within ten miles of their parents have passed a dozen years without going back to see them. "Tides" that is, floods are almost of annual occurrence. It is, for many, a day's journey to the county-seat; and except when court is in session the crude little villages that serve as county-seats in much of this section have very few attractions. The larger centers, which are far apart, are coal-mine towns, with a number of mediocre stores and a moving-picture theatre. To reach one of these from far up the East Branch of North Fork is an adventure seldom undertaken. Again, the position of the houses at the bottom of narrow valleys makes the horizon very restricted.

Within local neighborhoods there are informal human contacts. Though settlers were late in populating the intricacies of this deeply furrowed country, in course of generations the remotest corners have been occupied; so that up and down the creeks and branches there is hardly an interval where a cabin is farther from the next neighbor than "a whoop and a holler," as the local saying goes. Many families of a neighborhood are related to one another, and they go on foot or on muleback to spend hours on each other's porches, gossiping or sitting together in silence. In illness or other trouble neighbors and kinsfolk help one another; but there are practically no social organizations other than churches and schools.

Development of the natural resources of the North-

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*J.W. Raine, The Land of Saddle-bags, (New York; Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 1924).

eastern Cumberland Plateau began late. Tree trunks have been marketed by means of the spring tides, which have floated them down branch to creek and down creek to river, and so to the nearest sawmill. A great deal of timber has been destroyed in the process of clearing land for crops. In isolated districts, however, much still remains to be cut.

Coal mines have been opened, one just beyond another along some of the streams, and branch railway lines have been built to ship the coal. Twenty-three counties in this section contributed in 1927 considerably more than half the mine products and mine workers reported by the census for the 116 counties constituting the sample of the Highlands. In nine of these counties mine workers out-number workers on farms. But coal production was at a low ebb at the time of the survey.

Untouched strata of coal underlie the whole section. In the more isolated districts deposits have been tapped only by the farmers owning them, as sources of fuel to use themselves and perhaps to sell to their neighbors. The undeveloped stores of coal and timber, and the oil and gas that are also present, form sources of latent wealth, but not in general for the inhabitants of the section; for large tracts of forest and of land containing coal, gas or oil have been sold at low prices to outside investors. In one county visited, guides frequently pointed out stones painted red to mark corners of tracts owned by Henry Ford. Four or five other individuals or firms also owned large holdings of land in the county, so that according to a county official, 84 per cent. of the area was in the hands of non-residents.

The lot of the families on the land - that is, of practically all the families not in mining camps - is harder in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau than in any other Highland section. The steep slopes on which the spindling corn must be grown, the effects of erosion on a soil naturally sterile, the frequent run-out fields growing up to bushes, the little cabins surrounded in many cases by weeds and rubbish with comparatively few flowers, the home-made implements and makeshift latches, all bear witness to a poverty full of deprivations. This impression is borne out by statistics. The average income per farm is lower here than in any other section of the Highlands. This plateau ranks very low also in respect to size of farm and value of farm land, buildings and implements.

In less material ways, too, this is a land of deprivation. Schools have made less progress than elsewhere. Consolidation is impracticable except along the rare surfaced highways. Even to the ungraded district schools the children cannot come regularly in time of storm, mud or tide. Reading matter is almost totally lacking: even the mail-order catalogue is rare. The mail of a whole township is carried in a pair of saddle-bags. For one of the counties visited, the average sum spent in postage per inhabitant was only thirty-four cents a year. The radio is almost unknown. Illness is common; and still commoner are debility and inertia. All informants were agreed that moonshine is taken for granted; that the "dead line" is no figure of speech; and that almost every county has several murders annually.

An Old Regular Baptist Funeral: In the labyrinthine valleys of the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau ancient religious folk-ways have been perpetuated to a greater extent than anywhere else in the Highlands. An idea of these religious survivals can best be obtained by observing an actual religious ceremony of one of the primitive denominations still active in this section of the Highlands.

Let us attend a funeral conducted by the Old Regular Baptists. The fact that the occasion is a funeral will affect the proceedings only in respect to the open-air setting, the greater number present and a few minor details. Otherwise the occasion will be a typical preaching service of this venerable sect.

As our car spins along a new gravel road up the narrow, winding valley of Troublesome Creek, we observe scattered little grey cabins each with its porch in front, its untidy garden patch, and its cornfield sloping up toward the horizontal crest of the ridges. In the fresh cuttings made by the road-builders in the hillsides we notice the level strata characteristic of the plateau region, and particularly the black layers of crumbling coal.

Presently we come to a path up the hillside, and leave our car near two or three others at the side of the road. A distant sing-song voice rises and falls: evidently the preaching has begun. But there seems to be no hurry; for ahead two or three girls have stopped to talk with a group of young men. They do not pair off, but the girls finally leave the young men, and go on toward the place from which the sound of preaching can still be heard.

Passing a group of saddled mules, hitched to saplings, we come to a place where, under a few trees on the brow of a hill, a board platform and a rough bench have been erected. Upon the bench sit a row of men with a woman or two in black. Facing this group are benches without backs, made by laying slabs across logs. A compact group occupies part of the first two or three rows of benches; behind these the audience is somewhat scattered. In all, about 150 persons are present.

The preacher is speaking of the need of repentance. His rich voice intones, with regular pauses,

> God will burden a man - uh
> for that he hath done.
> We have to lay down the things - uh
> that make for the satisfaction of the
>   flesh - uh
> and look to the Almighty God.
> If it had not been for the blessing of
>   God, - uh
> I should have gone down under the frown of
>   the Saviour.

The sentences are chopped into lengths of a few words each separated by "uh" and a pause. The effect is suggested here by using the form of free verse.

Presently the preacher is speaking about heaven:

All that I want - uh
is a home in heaven.
The richest man that could be thought of - uh
is he that has a home in heaven.

After appealing to his hearers to come to heaven with him, the speaker reads the obituaries. The funeral is chiefly for America Parsons, a young woman who died three years ago. Here, where it was hard in former days and is frequently hard still to get a preacher and to collect friends and relatives on short notice, especially if weather and roads are bad, it has become the custom to have an immediate "burying," and to hold the big funeral at some convenient future time.

The speaker evidently finds it hard to know what to say about the deceased. She was too young to have been a member of the church - only twenty-three: the Old Regular Baptists discourage the young people from "making a profession" before reaching "the age of accountability," which they hold does not come before thirty. He makes the most of the girl's having said to her mother, "Don't worry, Mom. It's going to be all right."

Then the names of several brothers and sisters who died in infancy are read; and turning to the remaining children of the family the preacher says solemnly:

"I counsel you to meet your brothers and sisters up in heaven. Try to realize your need. When God offers his help, try to accept of it."

After a prayer there is a slow, wailing hymn, lined out almost inaudibly by the leader and sung only by the older people on and near the platform. The few distinguishable words show that the hymn is about death and the judgment.

Then comes the turn of a second preacher, a lank, brown farmer, who is shy and confused at first. He takes for his text the verse from Job, "Though worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh I shall see God." In low, uncertain tones he expresses his dread of preventing someone else from speaking, "Yet," he goes on, "we are commanded to come before the people in the presence of God and trust He will take possession of our minds and cause us to speak." He tries various lines of thought, quoting several Bible verses about death. Finally he gets the rhythmic swing, and runs through the early stories of the Old Testament. Several times he declares that he means to be brief and that soon he will "get out of the way." After speaking thirty-eight minutes he brings his sermon to a close.

During the preaching water from a bucket on a post in front has been passed about in a dipper. As the sun has moved people have shifted their seats to get into patches of shade; and many have strolled away out of hearing, while others have come and have taken seats.

Another minor hymn. Then a third preacher, after some apologetic hanging back, turns over the pages of his Bible for a few minutes as if uncertain what text to choose. Finally he reads Ezekiel's account of the valley of dead men's bones, stumbling along a word at a time. This preacher gets quickly into the desired rhythm. Among many other things, he says:

> We have all gone astray - uh
> our hope is lost - uh
> our bones is dry - uh
> our hope is gone.
> It looks impossible to you - uh
> but preach to them - uh
> and they shall live.
> We're dry bones - uh
> We're cut off.
> Why? - uh
> Because of our disbelief.

Now and then the speaker drops into a conversational tone, apparently rather for a rest or for variety of effect than because of any change in the sense. He walks about, claps his hands and makes various excited gestures. Several times he claims inspiration - "It's not Isaac Smith speaking to you, it's the spirit of God."

He ends, after preaching fifty-six minutes, by expressing a desire to shake their hands; and the older men walk forward and solemnly and with evident feeling shake hands with him and with one another as a ceremonial renewal of fellowship.

A fourth speaker discourses for forty-three minutes, chiefly on the day of judgment, the need of regeneration and his own conversion. A fifth begins by frankly confessing, "It seems like the other brothers have preached everything," but rambles on for fifty minutes hoping for an inspiration that apparently does not come.

Finally, the "moderator" of the church to which the bereaved family belong, a tall, dignified man, who has come late because a member of his own family has died this very day, makes a few concluding remarks. By way of consolation to the bereaved mother, who after four hours of tense excitement is at last crying aloud, he says: "I visited our departed sister in her illness. If she made her calling and election sure, when Jesus Christ comes again I do believe she will be in the company."

Notices are given of a decoration, of a footwashing, of a burying and of another funeral. The service closes with the adjournment of the hearers to the weed-grown little cemetery close by, where the last speaker asks all who are willing to kneel, and the rest to bow their heads. He then makes a solemn prayer, after which the people slowly depart from the quiet hilltop. Some will eat a picnic lunch together not far away; others will go home to dine with friends in the audience who live near.

Churches of Primitive Denominations: This funeral service has been reported at some length because it illustrates a number of characteristics of the Old Regular Baptists, most of which are shared by other primitive denominations in the Highlands. In the first place, the religious service has played, and in secluded districts like the one we have just visited still plays, a large part in the lives of the people. Almost the only occasions for social intercourse are religious, consisting of the monthly preaching service, the foot-washing, the decoration, the union meeting - union only in the sense of combining several churches of the same denomination - and, most highly considered of all, perhaps, the funeral. Protracted meetings are not held by the churches of the primitive denominations, which come down from an even earlier period. For the same reason Sunday schools are unknown among them. And pleasure apart from religion is of questionable morality to these descendants of Lollards and Covenanters. Being about all the recreation they have, and coming but rarely, since for many attendance at monthly meetings is much interrupted in winter, religious services are highly valued. In order to attend, some persons living on neighboring creeks ride around beforehand and spend the night with relatives. To make up for their rarity, the meetings are held on Saturday as well as on Sunday, and are very long. The funeral described above lasted about four hours and a half, not at all an unusual length even for a regular preaching service.

The order of exercises at the funeral, moreover, consisting for the most part of sermons, hymns, and prayers, is characteristic of the services of all the older denominations in the Highlands. There is no responsive reading, no instrumental music or anthem, no sentence of ritual. The ceremonial handshaking is frequently introduced at the close. The informality with which people come in and go out and help themselves and each other from the common dipper of water is also the general rule.

Since no one man could preach so long, each church has a moderator, that is, a preacher, and one or more assistant moderators. At the services, not only are all these men supposed to be present, but other preachers also; and, after much modest expostulation, the visiting preachers are persuaded to sit with the moderators on the platform. Without such an arrangement all those feeling the power and the "call" to influence others would not have an opportunity to exercise their gift in about the only influential calling open to unlettered men. Each preacher in attendance is given his turn to speak, and continues as long as he feels called to do so.

The subjects treated at the funeral described - death, the judgment, heaven and hell, repentance and conversion - were not chosen merely as being peculiarly adapted to a funeral; with the addition of the Bible they form the stock subjects of the old-time "mountain" preachers on all occasions.

The rhythmic delivery is characteristic of all of these old-time preachers. It is considered the vehicle of inspiration. Their far-off predecessors, humble in the face of their own ignorance and of the great need of the people in the wilderness, fastened on the Bible verse, "Take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak...: but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye: for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost." To this day the preachers of the primitive denominations apply this saying to themselves, and claim to be channels of divine inspiration.

The earnest solemnity of utterance is also widely prevalent. The preachers feel, and they convey the conviction to their auditors, that eternal issues of joy and wretchedness depend on the reception of their words, and on the regeneration of the unconverted among their hearers. Their belief is half way between predestination and free grace; and not to enter the door of salvation in the brief interval during which it may be open to any man, seems to them a terribly dangerous risk.

In the county in which the funeral was held, Anti-missionary Baptists predominate. The Old Regular Baptists have fourteen churches; the United Baptists, who closely resemble them, have three; and the Primitive Baptists have two. The Primitive Baptists, who characterize the Old Regular and United Baptists as "middle-splitters," are out-and-out Calvinists. Their uncompromising attitude about salvation is illustrated by a confidence made by an old Primitive Baptist to a minister of another faith who had become his friend:

"I often long to see Jim, Tom and Liza saved before I die. But there is not a thing I can do about it. Unless the Lord saves them they will not be saved."

The nineteen Anti-missionary churches in the county in question constitute all but five of the twenty-four churches present. Of the others, three are home missionary churches, two of which are in the county-seat, the fourth is a very small Missionary Baptist church in a large mining camp, and the fifth is a colored church in the same mining district. The country people are therefore almost exclusively of ancient Baptist sects. The only activity of these churches is to hold preaching services. Many of them have no church buildings, but meet in schoolhouses. Not one has a Sunday school or other subsidiary organization. Of the nineteen churches, only one had, at the time of the survey, any members under twenty-one years of age; and three-fifths of the total number of resident members were forty-five or over. The total running expenses of the nineteen churches in the year preceding the survey were only $123.10. Not one of these churches paid a penny of salary to a preacher; and not one paid a cent for missions or other benevolences. The oldest surviving Regular Baptist church in this county was organized in 1798, in the days of the very first scattered settlers. Anti-missionary Baptist churches have held the field here ever since.

The same class of denominations predominate in many other counties of the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau. In some districts, however, though such churches once existed, they have died out. This is the case in the western part of the other county of this section that was surveyed. Here only two of the old-time Baptist churches are still active, though at least seven have been abandoned during the past twenty-five or thirty years. In the field thus left vacant, mission churches have been planted by two denominations; but part of this territory is entirely without churches. In this unoccupied district a minor civil division, fifty-seven square miles in extent and cut into several valleys, though in 1930 it had 1,100 inhabitants, contains but a single church, which serves only the families along one of the creeks; and even this church was introduced recently by missionary enterprise. All this illustrates the spontaneous, almost accidental origin and history of the old churches in this section.

The whole eastern side of the county is occupied by "Christian" churches. These are enrolled in the Minutes of the Disciples of Christ and are supervised by a Disciples evangelist; but the members seem never to have heard the word "Disciples," and preserve many ancient characteristics. They almost never celebrate the communion service, which the Disciples usually hold every week. They have no musical instruments; and some of them have a strong prejudice against such things. Few of these congregations have church buildings. Sunday schools are held by only four of the fifteen "Christian" churches, and the Sunday school is openly opposed by several of their preachers. Indeed, almost the only difference between these churches and those of Anti-missionaries lies in a contrasting theological attitude with a consequent practice of holding revivals.

Churches of primitive denominations are common throughout the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau. Such churches formed more than a quarter of the total number reported by the Census of Religious Bodies: 1926 for the counties of this section; and in six counties more than half the churches reported were of this type. Among churches of primitive sects, congregations of the Old Regular Baptists were most numerous, those of United Baptists coming next and those of Primitive Baptists third. There were doubtless many churches of such denominations that were not recorded; for the absence of central denominational agencies with comprehensive statistics makes it almost impossible to be sure of identifying them all. More Anti-missionary churches than were enumerated by the Census were found by the field workers in the counties surveyed. There are even several distinct kinds of Baptists, well recognized in the Highlands of Kentucky, that are not even listed by the Religious Census. Such are the Enterprise Baptists, the Pencil Baptists, the Slab Baptists and the Forty-Gallon Baptists.

In many parts of this area are districts having no organized churches with regular services, some of which are notorious for violence and for moonshining. The section as a whole, moreover, has decidedly fewer churches in proportion to population than any other part of the Highlands.

Anti-mission Spirit in Churches in General: The low standard of church expenditure and the rudimentary program of the primitive churches prevail among churches in general throughout the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau. The restrictions of the pioneers have been rationalized by their descendants, or at least have been justified on biblical grounds, and have been exalted into principles. Traditional standards of this nature permeate the churches of denominations that in other parts of the United States have contrary ideals. For this reason it is hard for officials of the Missionary Baptists, who are strongest here among the more progressive denominations represented, or of the Methodists, who are next in strength, to gain support for the kind of minister and program desired by the denominational agencies.

Dogmatic and Sectarian Spirit: To the old-time mountain preachers shades of difference in theological doctrine are matters of vital import. Such things are discussed at length in association meetings and are preached about at church services. One result of this is a tendency of churches and associations to split in two over such matters as the time of the resurrection of the dead, or the possibility that the saved should fall from grace. Another consequence of this theological preoccupation is that sermons deal with conduct only to a comparatively limited extent and usually in very general terms. The hearers are exhorted at great length concerning the plan of salvation, fully explained according to the views of the denomination represented. Regarding ethics they are urged to "obey God's law" or to "lead a righteous life," without explanation of what is thereby involved in everyday living.

The preeminent importance ascribed to dogma results also in intense sectarian feeling toward churches holding different beliefs. The strength of this sectarianism is illustrated by the remark of a preacher who differed from others chiefly in his frankness. A woman had remarked to this man, "There are Christians in all churches." The preacher replied, "Lady, you are mistaken. There is no other church but (his own) that the Lord has anything to do with."

The degree of bitterness sometimes exhibited in sectarian strife is shown by extracts from two controversial documents that have recently appeared in print. In the minutes of a certain association of Missionary Baptists, as part of a "Report of District Missions," occur the following words:

> It is a fright to think of the rotten doctrine that is taught among the people of our association. Such as Methodism, Presbyterianism, Holy Rollerism, Campbellism, Mormonism, Spiritualism, Hardshellism, and last but not least, Communityism, which is the Devil's last resort. ... These false denominations are not Christianizing the Mountain people but Romanizing them. (Sad but true.)

The passage from which this extract was taken, with a spirited Reply, was circulated as a leaflet. Here are a few characteristic sentences from the Reply:

> The Old Regular Baptists were the pioneer settlers of this country. They have for the last hundred years or more preached the pure unadulterated gospel of Christ. They sowed the seeds of righteousness among the early settlers of this country, planted the churches in the valleys and built school houses on the hillsides and laid the foundation of a great community. They exalted all that was true and great, heavenly and divine among the people and built the churches upon the true foundation of Christ. ... It becomes our duty to defend and preserve these churches and institutions as they turned them over to us.
>
> We emphatically deny that the Regular Baptists are Romanizing the Mountain People and defy you to prove it. This charge of yours is nothing but a libel and a slander upon the Mountain churches of this country and reflects no credit upon the man who made

it, or upon the association that adopted this report.

Functions of the Churches: What are the functions fulfilled by the churches of this section? To the church members and their families they afford rare social contacts, and some safeguards against crime, in addition to assurance of eternal welfare, self-confidence, hope and other inward consolations, of which in their barren lives they stand in great need.

The church members of this section, however, formed in 1926 less than one-sixth of the total number of inhabitants, * 17.3 per cent., a proportion lower than that for any other section of the Highlands. In not a single county was as high a proportion as 30 per cent. of the people in the churches; and in one-third of the counties less than one-sixth of the people were church members.

Toward the promotion of the religious welfare and moral training of those outside church families, the churches offer much less than in average rural territory. So far as the churches are of Anti-missionary denominations they provide neither Sunday schools nor revivals nor preaching services at outstations. The entire duty of the preachers, who must make their living in addition to serving the churches, is to preach

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*This proportion, and similar figures that will be given on later pages, were obtained as follows: The sum of county totals of church members as published by the Census of Religious Bodies, 1926, for the twenty-three counties constituting the sample of the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, was compared with the average of the population in 1920 and in 1930 for the same counties.

If every church in the section had been included in the figures of the Religious Census the proportion in the church membership might perhaps have been somewhat higher. The difference would not have been great, however, since these churches of primitive denominations are frequently small. The total membership figures furnished to the Religious Census include non-resident members.

to each church one or more times on a single week-end in the month, and in some cases to visit those among the parishioners who are ill or in trouble. And the comparatively few churches of more familiar denominations that are present are in many cases hardly distinguishable from those of primitive sects. The few churches having Sunday schools find it hard to induce the people to attend them regularly, partly because these are so alien to local traditions.

Of the preachers, moreover, widely informed religious leaders declare that many of them share the ethical attitudes of their people as regards liquor, feud spirit and violence; so that they are unable to alter public sentiment regarding these issues.

Furthermore, the churches and preachers, recognizing spiritual functions only, have no feeling of responsibility for the improvement of their environment. Therefore they do not attempt to reinforce the efforts of county agents toward the adoption of better methods of farming, or those of health officers toward the improvement of sanitation and the practice of inoculation. Many of the preachers have used their influence against the development of better public schools. Though some of them speak with concern of the new problems and temptations into which the rapidly changing conditions are plunging their people, they feel powerless to help them. And the evidence offered by the sermons heard and the personal interviews secured make it clear that the minds of many of these preachers live in a world of eternal issues, in which temporal interests have no importance.

Holiness Phenomena: In neighborhoods without churches Holiness preachers find a soil prepared for their peculiar teachings. Work in a particular valley starts something like this. An itinerant preacher, uneducated, but swept from his farm by exciting Holiness meetings, comes along and announces a preaching service in the schoolhouse. His reputation as a "Holy Roller" has perhaps preceded him. Some attend out of curiosity and others because of the dearth of religious privileges. Biblical passages quoted freely by the speaker awaken the confidence of the hearers. A challenge to perfect holiness of life arouses their consciences. Loud, emotional preaching, with encouragement to the physical expression of feeling through the clapping of hands, stamping, dancing and the like, rouses the audience to a high pitch of excitement. When this stage is reached, some shout, others fall down in a stupor, and others are affected by involuntary movements, such as twitching, bending the body rapidly up and down, jumping on the benches or desks, rolling on the floor, or pounding at the windows. These movements the preacher declares to be superinduced by the Holy Ghost. Some claim to be able to handle coals of fire without being burned. Rattlesnakes are sometimes brought to the meetings, and the power to handle them without harm is made a test of religious faith. Although the poison has been removed beforehand, according to leaders of other denominations, nevertheless serious bites sometimes occur.

After a number of such meetings, during which the excitement and the attendance grow, emphasis is laid on the "second blessing," a visitation of the Holy Spirit which by many is supposed to make the recipient incapable of sinning again. The reception of this second blessing is thought to be proved by the power to speak in tongues. This sign is prayed for long and earnestly, some persons renewing their petitions for a year. Speaking in tongues is reported by witnesses to sound like a succession of unintelligible syllables, such as "me, se, cum, me, se, ca," and the like. These and other motor phenomena in connection with Holiness meetings are commoner and more pronounced in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau than in other sections of the Highlands.

Some of the converts try to preach, and there is frequently rivalry among these men. One of them will sometimes bring a crowd outside the schoolhouse where a rival is to speak, and try to break up the meeting through noise and intimidation.

The notoriety caused by such events draws larger and larger audiences. Members of neighboring churches are reconverted, and their names are thereupon removed from the roll of their original churches for "drifting off to Holy Rollers, which means a disorderly walk or departing from the faith," as it was put by the minutes of a certain church among those visited. In this way some churches had lost nearly one-third of their members, and some had become so weak that they had ceased to hold services. In regard to the effects of Holiness meetings, the regular preachers and missionary workers showed great solicitude. One of them expressed a general attitude by calling them "devil's work."

Holiness meetings are usually not held long at any one point. Interest soon flags. Sometimes the assurance of sinlessness ends in a scandal. Some sects of perfectionists do not believe in "man-made" churches and church rolls, so that their work lacks the stability associated with organization. The cessation of meetings leaves the converts without religious privileges near home. But when the excitement dies down at one point it flares up at another.

County officials expressed strong disapproval of the Holiness leaders. A school superintendent said that the poorest schools were always in the sections where the people had Holiness leanings; and declared, "The Holy Rollers are harder on school property than all the drunks in the county. They break the desks, tear up the seats and rock the windows. One building was so badly treated again and again that the school was consolidated with the one nearest it."

The home demonstration agent of the same county reported difficulty in getting the girls of her clubs in Holiness districts to work, since the mothers saw no use in their learning to cook or to sew. The Judge, too, said that fights often took place between those attending a Holiness meeting and the gang outside, and reported that a Holiness preacher sometimes tried to get another taken up for disturbing his meeting.

All these informants, however, admitted that there were some good Holiness people, and that the Holiness preaching had made permanent converts of a few hardened characters whom other churches had failed to reach.

In 1926 Holiness churches formed 3.8 per cent. of the total number of churches reported for the sample counties of the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau. Among these perfectionist sects organized churches, to which the figures of the Religious Census are confined, are few in comparison to unorganized groups holding meetings with more or less regularity.

Distinctive and Representative Features: As the section in which the isolation of the Highlands is found at its height, the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau has more churches of primitive denominations than any other subdivision, and such churches have retained more completely their ancient attitudes and customs. This section, moreover, has comparatively few churches of all denominations combined in relation to the number of inhabitants, and it contains an unusual proportion of territory that is destitute of religious ministry. Here, too, Holiness preaching is more common and holiness phenomena are more intense than in the other sections of the region. Nevertheless, all these things are found to some extent in other parts of the Highlands; and certain religious attitudes manifest in this section are characteristic of Highlanders wherever found. Among such representative attitudes the most important are the prevalence of strong religious sentiment, the other-worldly conception of religion, and the Anti-missionary standards of church expenditures and program.

The Northwestern Cumberland Plateau

The Northwestern Cumberland Plateau, outlined in Diagram III, is a narrow section which lies across most of Kentucky just northwest of the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, passes across Tennessee next to the Great Valley, and extends into the northwestern corner of Alabama. The smallest among the six principal sections of the Highlands, it covers seven entire counties and parts of thirty-five others, and has an area of more than 7,600 square miles. The population is about 245,000.

Since the rocks that once filled what is now the Great Valley were comparatively soft, the resistant rock capping the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau towers above the valley like a wall, into which the streams have cut back narrow gorges. In Kentucky there is no such sharp line of demarcation between the Northeastern and the Northwestern Cumberland Plateaus. The top of the Plateau is gently rolling in contour. The western edge, though more irregularly carved by streams than the eastern escarpment in Tennessee, nevertheless towers steeply above the Highland Rim, which adjoins it to the west.

Because of its more nearly level topography and its location between the cities of Cincinnati, Knoxville and Nashville, this Plateau was crossed by through railroads earlier than most sections of the Highlands. The railroads made possible the earlier exploitation of its resources of timber and coal. The forests have been largely cut over, the limited forest products of today being derived from second-growth woods. Coal production began before 1880. The coal that could be mined cheaply has, for the most part, been taken out, though a few mines are still in operation. A number of the centers are decadent mining camps.

The farmers of the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau are having a hard time; for they now find fewer opportunities than formerly to supplement their income through work in the woods or the mines, and farming alone is not very remunerative here; for the soil, though in parts fairly productive, is not particularly fertile.

Districts away from the immediate vicinity of the railroads, especially those having clay soil, and also the reentrant stream valleys, are much isolated by bad roads. In fact, seven farms out of ten are on unimproved dirt roads. On the whole, therefore, this Plateau exhibits a degree of isolation and poverty, second only to those found in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau.

Primitive Denominations: As in the section already considered, churches of primitive sects have been preserved. But the primitive denominations represented by most of these churches are different from those previously encountered. Here are many Free Will Baptists, whose distinguishing doctrine is free grace open to all, in opposition to the Calvinistic belief in the election to salvation of only a predestined few. Here also are found Duck River Baptists, whose belief regarding an over-ruling Providence, like that of the Regular and United Baptists, lies between the two extremes. In two adjoining Tennessee counties of this section have lingered some churches of the Separate Baptists, who, since their distant origin in England, have opposed the doctrine of predestination. Still a fourth kind of Baptists, the Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian Baptists, as their name suggests, support an extreme form of the Calvinistic dogma. The presence of all these kinds of Baptists of conflicting views indicates that in this section the question of the freedom of the will has long been a burning one.

Cumberland Presbyterians, who left the main body of Presbyterians on the issues of free will and the training of ministers, are also present, and were still more numerous before the union of the majority of Cumberland Presbyterian churches with the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., in 1906.

Churches of Christ, moreover, are more common here than anywhere else in the Highlands. The churches of this conservative sect have derived from the lack of musical instruments in the churches of their pioneer forefathers a belief that such instruments are evil. Another topic of controversy between these conservative "Christians" and people of other denominations, concerns the relation of baptism to salvation. While others administer baptism to converted persons as a sign that they have been saved, the "Christians" believe that people are saved in and through the rite itself. In the words of a Christian preacher at a baptism, "This young woman goes down into the water dead because of trespasses and sins. She comes out of the water a living soul." When another young woman died from shock while she was being immersed in a creek at midwinter, the people of the vicinity debated with awe the question whether the girl was saved or not. It depended, they thought,on whether or not the ceremony had advanced far enough before the girl died, to have accomplished the supernatural transformation.

The preachers of each of the denominations represented are strongly attached to their inherited theological positions, so that here also sectarian spirit is strong. The prevailing attitude among the adherents of primitive sects toward those belonging to other denominations was expressed by a Church of Christ preacher as follows:

"Some say, 'I believe a certain church is nearer right than any.' I say that the Lord's church is absolutely right: any other is absolutely wrong. Look at a counterfeit dollar. It may look good enough, but take it to Washington and they tell you it is all wrong. You can't make a Christian by the Baptist way."

This section, moreover, like the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, has denominations not reported to the Religious Census. One of the Tennessee counties surveyed had nine churches whose denominational name, as published in the association minutes, was "Free Will Christian Baptist Church of Christ." The same county had several churches describing themselves as belonging to "The Baptists." Their association had been formed by the union of a few Missionary Baptist churches and a few Free Will Baptist churches, each dropping their distinctive names. From several of the churches thus uniting, factions had split off that held to the original denomination.

In addition to churches of the primitive religious sects, are a much larger number of organizations of the common denominations such as the Missionary Baptists and Methodists both northern and southern. These denominations have developed two religious institutions not very common in the section to the northeast, namely the revival and the Sunday school. The Sunday school has been adopted here as one of the facilities that every neighborhood should have; few churches except those of primitive sects are without them, and many neighborhoods without church organizations have union Sunday schools in schoolhouses. Sixty to seventy Sunday schools were held regularly in each of the three counties surveyed in this section; and certain neighborhoods having no Sunday schools when visited had had them in the recent past or hoped to start them in the near future. Even so, the total average attendance at Sunday school in the three counties formed but a small proportion of the population, ranging from one-seventh to one-fifth.

A Typical Sunday school Session: The church is an unpainted one-room structure, propped up on piles, each of three or four rounded stones. The steps of the two doors, side by side at the rear end of the edifice - one originally for men and the other for women - are out of repair, and the little belfry has lost part of its slats. Entering, we see a rectangular room with benches, a stove in the middle, and in front a platform having, besides a simple pulpit, two small square tables of the same height as the pulpit at the front corners of the platform. The walls are ceiled but unpainted, and the homemade benches are badly hacked with knives. Several window lights have been shot out by the guns of older boys, who in this section frequently take this lawless method of showing that they are grown up. Though the floor has evidently been swept, it is permeated by the red mud of the locality. There is no musical instrument, and there are no flowers.

No one has come yet, but wagons and cars soon begin to appear. Each vehicle brings a whole family, from the old grandmother to the newest baby. After a good deal of friendly conversation both outside and inside the building, people gradually take their seats in classes. In one corner is a fine group of young people of high-school age, perhaps a dozen of them. Opposite them is a class of beginners that must number close to twenty. The men, some in coats, some in shirt sleeves and some in overalls, and the women in cotton dresses, sit together toward the front, the women occupying the bench behind the men; and groups of small boys and of little girls are scattered about.

Directed by a singing teacher who has been conducting a singing school in the locality, the classes unite in rendering in a spirited way, "When the roll is called up yonder, I'll be there."

When the classes "turn to the lesson," the teacher of the "card class" of tiny folks, a young girl of eighteen or twenty, stands before two rows of midgets, who sit patiently, feet dangling, on the high benches. She reads in a mumbling tone the story of the lesson as written on the card, and then has each child repeat the golden rule after her, while the rest talk softly or stare about them. All this takes only ten or twelve minutes, after which the teacher joins a group of other girls, while the deserted children keep surprisingly quiet.

Meanwhile the young people's class has been reading the lesson around, verse by verse. This performance over, the young teacher reads the questions from her quarterly, and the pupils addressed hunt up and read the printed answers, the teacher following to see if they get the right answer and read it correctly. She ends with the purely formal question, "Has the class any questions on the lesson? If not, please sit quietly till time for closing exercises."

Similar proceedings take place in all the other classes except the Bible class. This is taught by the preacher. Addressing the men only, while the women listen in silence, he propounds not only the questions in the quarterly but a few of his own. One of the latter was, "Did Paul organize his converts into Missionary Baptist churches?" On this subject there is so much to be said that the topic is to be discussed again next Sunday.

After the collection and the singing of "I have heard of a land on a faraway strand," the people go outdoors for an intermission before the sermon.

A Representative Preaching Service: Presently the preacher stands at the door calling the people and promising them some good singing. When all have come in the little church house is well filled. The leading men of the church sit in the Amen corner at the preacher's right. To the left of the pulpit sit the members of the singing class. On the front seats directly in front of the preacher are the squirming children. Behind them are women and girls, who together greatly outnumber the men. The back seats are filled with young couples who are said to come to church partly because there is nowhere else to go together. The singing teacher, with his tuning fork and stick, stands up and leads in the hymns. Snatches of the words are audible. The first hymn begins,

Somebody is knocking at your door,
O sinner, why don't you answer?
Sounds like Jesus...

The rest is not distinguishable. From another hymn we can make out the words -

Life's setting sun is sinking low,
A few more days and I must go...
Where there will be no setting sun...

After the singing and the reading of a passage from the Bible, the preacher asks one of the men in the Amen corner to lead in prayer. The fervent petitions are interrupted by shouts of "Hallelujah!" "Yes, Lord!" and "Praise God!" Then the preacher, a frail old man, standing up as straight and tall as he can, announces as his theme "the absolute completeness of the word of God." The delivery is earnest, and the tones are occasionally very loud; but there is no approach to the rhythmic utterance of the old-time mountain preachers. Here are extracts from the sermon:

> Brothers, the Bible says, "All Scripture was given by inspiration of God." It was God's voice going out through the fingers of the prophets: His words that ran out through the pen points.
>
> My friends, if you believe one word of the Bible you must believe all words. It's an awful dangerous thing to cull God's word - to take the part that suits you and leave the rest. There are no runts nor culls about God's word, and no small potatoes, either. ...
>
> The Bible will keep us from sin. How do I know that? The Bible tells me so. "Thy

> word have I hid in my heart that I might not sin against Thee." ...
>
> All other books will perish, but that never. God says, "My word shall not pass away." I am repeating to you God's word, which is as far above human words as the God of Heaven is above this puny old man.
>
> If you can't take the statements of this book as true, I'd not trust your oath before a court of justice. A man that hasn't more respect for God than that is a dangerous man. God would not send us a deceitful message, a lying book. No: God is a God of truth.
>
> Didn't I prove what I said I would? I have proved it through the word of God.

The sermon ends with an appeal to the unconverted to confess their sins and be baptized.

During the sermon there is some noise and moving about. Several babies cry and are audibly soothed or even nursed by their mothers. An intermittent procession goes forward to drink from the pail and dipper provided. Occasionally some one leaves the church and others come in. But none of these things seem to annoy the preacher, who continues to preach in a voice loud enough to be heard above all other noises. And the people seem to listen without any sense of disturbance.

The use, illustrated by the sermon reported above, of Biblical texts detached from their context as authoritative statements is very general in the Highlands. It has arisen out of the deeply ingrained traditional belief, handed down for hundreds of years, that every phrase of the Bible, as any man may interpret it, is absolutely true. The habitual form of theological argument consists of the quoting of Bible verses by both contestants in support of their respective positions. This attitude toward the Bible is expressed in the refrain of a hymn:

The Bible tells me so,
And that's enough to know;

The race began with perfect man,
The Bible tells me so.

The Ways of the Churches: Not merely in the ruling ideas of the preacher, but in the setting, in the order of exercises and in the spirit of the audience, earnest but not outwardly reverential, the meeting observed was typical. The church building was better than many, in that it had a cupola and a bell and in spite of defects was in comparatively good repair; while it was less expensive than some church houses of the section in that it was not painted either without or within. A fair number of churches are white outside and drab or slate-colored inside. The one-room structure is the rule, especially in the country: in the three counties surveyed in the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau, thirty-eight or thirty-nine out of forty of the country churches were built on this plan. The church visited, indeed, was superior to a considerable number in having a building at all. In the two Tennessee counties studied as representative of this section, one-fourth and one-third of the churches, respectively, had no building, meeting in schoolhouses; although in the Kentucky county almost all had a building of some sort. The interior furnishings of the church described are those usually present.

The plain order of exercises observed, consisting of hymns, prayer, passage from the Bible and sermon, is the common form except for churches of denominations having a prescribed order of service. The absence of a collection is fairly common. The preaching services, unlike the Sunday school sessions, which come every Sunday, are usually held only once a month, this interval being adopted by eight-tenths to nine-tenths of the churches in each of the three counties studied. Many churches have services not only on Sunday but on the day before.

Moreover, the standard of church living is almost inevitably low, because of the small financial margin from which the people contribute to their churches. The average annual expenditure for all churches, including those in villages, is only from $171 to $245, according to county; and more than a quarter of the churches had either no expenditures whatever or totals of less than $25 a year. Half the ministers, if paid at all, received less than $100 in a twelvemonth. Three-fourths of the churches have non-resident ministers. More than three-fourths have no subsidiary organizations other than Sunday school, and not all have even a Sunday school. The simple church program shows the dominance of the traditional church order. And these simple arrangements exist in spite of the presence in the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau of denominations that try to promote among the members of their local churches higher standards of expenditure and of program.

The proportion of the population enlisted in the churches in 1926, though somewhat higher than in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, was less than one-fourth in each of the three counties and in two was one-fifth or less. For the section as a whole the total church membership of the counties entirely within the section was 22.9 per cent. of the population. Though this is a somewhat higher proportion than that for the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, it is less than half as high as that prevailing in the rural territory of the United States, for which the proportion was 47.8 per cent. * Church conditions similar to those of the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau are also found in the Highland Rim, which, adjoining the Plateau on the west, has a similar environment at a lower altitude.

Points of Likeness and of Difference: Ranking next to the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau in degree of isolation and of poverty, the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau approaches the section previously studied also in the proportion of the churches that belong to primitive denominations, and in the ratio of the total church membership to the population. In other respects the church situation is representative of the Highlands in general. Sunday schools are common, and are conducted in much the same way as in the other sections. The type of church building and the

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*Hooker, Hinterlands of the Church (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1931), p. 218.

restricted church program are broadly typical; and the preaching service visited is like that held by thousands of churches all over the Highlands.

The Alleghany Plateau

The Alleghany Plateau appears on Diagram III as a wedge-shaped territory extending northeast and southwest through the middle of West Virginia and covering also the northwestern corner of Maryland. It has an area of about 8,750 square miles, and covers sixteen entire counties and parts of ten others. The population in 1930 was something over 480,000,* thus being nearly twice as numerous as that of the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau and rather more than half as numerous as that of the larger Northeastern Cumberland Plateau.

Here the surface rocks have a degree of hardness intermediate between those characterizing the two Cumberland plateaus to the southwest. Erosion is well advanced, much of the surface having been cut into deep, V-shaped valleys. Many hills and long ridges, however, have been left with flat tops wide enough to afford room for a farm. To a considerable extent the homes and the roads lie on these hills and ridges; although in some localities there are houses and therefore roads close to the streams in the narrow valleys.

The Alleghany Plateau is nearer important routes of travel and large centers of population than either of the other plateaus. Nevertheless, it is shut away from the world on almost all sides by stretches of hilly country. On the east the Central Ridges present line after line of parallel barriers. To the northwest lies a wide band of territory of the same general character as the plateau itself except that the elevations are lower; and to the southwest stretches the maze of winding valleys of the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau. The only two through railroads crossing the Alleghany Plateau are found in the southwestern part of the section. Other railway lines are simply branches tapping the resources of coal and timber. Through highways

*Exclusive of the city of Cumberland.

are also few; and more than two-thirds of the farms are on unimproved dirt roads. In consequence of the narrowness of the tops of the hills and ridges, many families live at considerable distances from their nearest neighbors. Sometimes they are scattered along a road; in other cases a single farm occupies all the land on a hilltop and is several miles from the nearest house. To serve all the isolated farms with schools, roads and churches is practically impossible. Throughout the section spring "tides" are very high; and in the absence of bridges people may be "water bound" for days or weeks together. But because the houses are to so large an extent on elevated sites having wide prospects of hill and forest, and often of other human habitations, the effect of isolation is not so pronounced as in the narrow valleys of the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau.

The natural resources of the Alleghany Plateau are in process of exploitation. Important lumbering operations are being conducted, and patches of virgin timber still remain to be cut. Most of the counties of this section have coal mines. In 1927 the Alleghany Plateau contained nearly one-third of the mine workers employed in 116 counties forming the sample of the Highlands, and it provided nearly the same proportion of the total value of mining products.* At the time of the survey, the mines were being worked, if at all, at much less than full capacity; and suffering was experienced by families who had abandoned maintenance agriculture for mine wages that had failed them.

The farmers of the Alleghany Plateau work under somewhat more favorable conditions than those of the two Cumberland plateaus. The mining camps present a near-by market; and temporary work in mines and woods offers a means of supplementing the income from agriculture. Moreover, the average farm is larger and is worth more; and the income per farm is a little higher. The better financial condition is reflected in the farm homes, which frequently are of two stories and are covered with a neat coat of paint, contrasting strongly with the unpainted cabins of the poorer mountain districts.

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*Data from Market Data Handbook (Washington; U.S. Government Printing Office, 1929).

The Churches: The denominational alignment of the churches of the Alleghany Plateau differs from that in the two plateaus farther to the southwest. There are comparatively few congregations of the primitive denominations. And whereas in the other two plateaus denominations of congregational polity predominate, here five-eighths of the churches represent centralized denominations. In 1926, Methodist churches - belonging to the Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Protestant and Methodist Episcopal, South, bodies - formed 47.2 per cent. of the total number of churches.

Extremely primitive phenomena like foot-washing are rare; but the low standards of church living present in the other plateaus prevail here also to a considerable extent. Of the two counties surveyed, one, having a larger proportion of level land, had long been an agricultural district, while in the other mining and lumbering had recently been developed. The churches of both counties, and especially that of the younger, had the familiar small one-room building, monthly preaching service conducted by a non-resident minister, low expenditures, scarcity of subsidiary organizations, and limited program.

The principal way in which denominational agencies have modified Highland traditions in these two counties is in respect to the work and salary of the ministers. Nearly half these men devote their whole time to the ministry. Though home mission aid is not given to any of the churches, the ministers are somewhat better paid, the average salary being about $850. This is made possible by large circuits, two-thirds of the ministers with no other occupation serving five or more points each. Moreover, the church buildings are usually somewhat less plain than in the other two plateaus, and the services are rather less informal.

The religious attitudes of the people here are similar in important respects to those prevailing in the other Appalachian plateaus. These can best be appreciated, perhaps, by considering an evening service of one of the revivals which form an almost invariable event of the church year.

A Revival Sermon: The revival service was one of the later sessions of a union revival held by the three churches of a small hamlet, coming after ten days with services morning and evening. On the preceding day several boys of the vicinity had had a narrow escape from death in an automobile accident.

At the call of a bell, people with tense faces and with dark lines under their eyes enter a neatly ceiled church lighted with glaring coal-oil lamps. Many men are present, some of them clad in overalls. After very simple preliminaries, the revivalist, a broad-shouldered, ruddy-faced man, rises to speak. His first action is to fling off his coat, as if preparing for strenuous labor. He announces as his text the verse, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

> "My friends," he begins loud and earnestly, "you have heard of the terrible accident in your peaceful little community. This should remind you that death is ever near. Today we live, tomorrow we die. Every day seventy-nine people are killed by autos alone. Are you ready to die?
>
> "Yes, my friends, death is always at hand. Everytime the clock ticks three souls must go to meet their God. Are you ready? Have you accepted the Lord Jesus Christ as your Savior? Or are your souls in the dark?"

Louder and louder, more and more emphatic, grows the delivery of the preacher. He strides up and down the platform and throws his arms about in the earnestness of his desire to convert his hearers. Presently he drops his voice, lifts up his arms, and begins a solemn prayer, which grows higher and louder as it proceeds:

> "O God, speak to those souls who are in the dark, that they may see Thee and repent of their evil ways. Break down stubborn wills,

> and prostrate sinful souls in fear and remorse. Lord Jesus, visit us tonight and save us from everlasting damnation. Amen."

Lowering his arms the preacher resumes his exhortation.

> "Remember that the Bible says, 'Ye who do not repent will surely be doomed to Hell.' If Hell's not true, the Bible is a lie. The rich man in the parable died and went to Hell, burning Hell. I once saw white-hot iron flowing like water in a smelting mill in Alabama. That molten iron was ice-cream compared to the flames of Hell. Praise the Lord!
>
> "O wretched sinners, I warn you again, unless you repent of the carnal lusts of the flesh and the loathsome sins of the world, when you die you will go to Hell. I do not mean Hades or Perdition. I mean straight Hell - down to the torments of Hell. Oh, friends, come tonight and be saved. Oh God, who hates the sin but loves the sinner, be merciful to these Thy children!"

By this time the speaker's face is as red as a beet and the perspiration is running down in visible drops. He has preached so hard that he has to pause for breath. But after a generous drink of water he begins afresh.

> "I have wrestled with sinners in many revivals. Some of them slammed the door of mercy. In a number of cases, such men died soon after by what were called accidents. God had given them their chance of salvation. When they did not avail themselves of it He ended their wretched lives. They went out into eternity; and then, oh, how earnestly they wished they were back and still had a chance."

After relating graphically the story of the death of an unconverted sinner, the preacher, now almost worn out, calls for any who wish to be saved and to have the prayers of the Christian people, to come forward and shake his hand. One of the young men who was in the automobile accident responded. Holding his hand the preacher recalls the circumstances. Tears flow and sobs are heard. While the congregation sings "Jesus will save you," the preacher prays for the young man at the top of his voice. Finally the preacher exclaims:

> "Now, now, my friends, the light is coming, the face is shining in smiles. God has given His gracious love, and one more sinner is in the fold. God be thanked for the working of His spirit. Hallelujah!
>
> "Is there not someone else to come forward? We are waiting. Now while we sing softly 'Jesus saves,' won't you come, all you who would be saved? You companions of this young man who has just given his heart to Jesus, will you not follow his example?"

Three other youths, partly pushed forward by their friends, sheepishly comply. After these have been dealt with, the speaker urges others to make their surrender. "Do not be ashamed to come forward," he pleads. "We are waiting for you. If you sin the sin of neglect you will go to Hell. O God, be merciful!"

Other young people come forward in groups. None are over eighteen, and two are children of not more than ten years. Each receives a hand shake, with prayer and exhortation. By the preacher's remarks it is clear that some have been "saved" before at previous revivals.

Finally there are no more penitents, and the preacher exclaims:

> "This is God's work well done. Praise His name! Let us close by singing, 'O happy day, that fixt my choice on Thee my Saviour and my God.' "

Revival scenes like the one just described are very prevalent in the Highlands, and especially in the

Alleghany Plateau. In the two counties surveyed as representative of this section, during the year preceding the survey, more than three-fourths of the churches participated in revivals, and 95 per cent. of the persons received into the churches joined in connection with such occasions.

Generalizations: The Alleghany Plateau, in short, being less isolated than the other two Appalachian plateaus, has fewer churches of the more primitive sects. The church program, however, is nearly as rudimentary as in the other two sections, with this exception, that a higher proportion of professional ministers, receiving a somewhat larger average salary, serve a considerable number of points each. In 1926 the total church membership of the counties entirely within the section was 30.4 per cent. of the number of inhabitants, a proportion decidedly higher than for either of the more isolated plateaus and close to that for the Highlands as a whole, 32.4 per cent.

A conversional religious psychology, which the Highlands outside the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau have inherited from the days of the Great Revival in the West, is manifested here, to an even larger extent than in other Highland sections, in fervid annual revivals and in an evangelistic type of preaching throughout the year.

Coal Camps

All three of the Appalachian plateaus contain coal camps, which are particularly numerous in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau and the Alleghany Plateau. The church situation in these camps is quite different in many respects from that in the agricultural districts. This problem cannot be understood without a consideration of the conditions prevailing in the camps.

The miners are to a very large extent from Highland farms. There are exceptional colonies of foreign-born whites and of colored people; but these form very small proportions of the population in mining counties. For generations these Highlanders led an independent existence on small isolated farms, where they raised most of the necessities of existence. Their manner of life fostered individualism, self-respect, responsibility, handiness, content with limited resources, independence, leisureliness. They were members, or at least occasional attendants, of a church on their own creek.

Then they left the farm for a coal camp, drawn, perhaps, by the high wages paid during the World War. Here is a description of a typical coal-mining district, situated in one of the counties surveyed. The road lies now within and now beside a creek in a narrow valley. All the way along stand little square gray houses, for the most part crowded close to the road, creek and railroad track in the valley, but also in tiers on the hillsides wherever the slope is not too steep. Between the houses lie dirt, tin cans, broken automobile parts, heaps of garbage; and flies, pigs, chickens and cows make themselves at home around the cabins and to some extent under them. There are no fences and no flowers. Outdoor pumps each serve a number of neighboring houses. Unpleasant smells rise from the creek, which is the only sewer; and the odor of coal gas comes from high, burning piles of waste coal. The air is full of smoke and coal dust. Children quarrel. Trains clank slowly by. At a central point stands the large building occupied by the company store and offices, and near by is a neatly painted schoolhouse. On tracks down the steep hillside descend small cars, bringing the coal from the mines far above to blackened open towers, through which the coal is fed into freight cars on the railroad track below.

Such camps line many of the streams in eastern Kentucky and West Virginia. In them dwell hundreds of thousands of Highlanders, who live close together in the dingy little cabins, with no room for a garden or a corn field. They work for long hours underground under the direction of foremen. They buy their food dear with brass tokens at the company store. At night they are exhausted and form an easy prey to the temptations which are spread thick about them.

A few camps are reported to be pleasant, orderly places, but these are very great exceptions. The conditions described above characterize hundreds of mining villages in the Appalachian plateaus.

So much was true before hard times overtook the coal industry. When the mines closed or ran at a much reduced capacity, great numbers of men lost their jobs entirely or had to work part time for very little pay.

These unemployed Highlanders have lost their old adjustment to maintenance agriculture; their economic condition is pitiable; the health of many has been undermined; and their self-reliance has been sapped by the paternalistic arrangements of the coal companies. Furthermore, professional agitators have come and have tried to start unions. In some cases a genuine attempt has been made to win better conditions through cooperation. In too many cases, however, the outsiders have stirred up hot feeling against the companies for conditions which, bad as they are, result in large measure from forces that single companies cannot control. In many cases the men who join the unions are discharged.

Many coal camps have either no churches or very weak ones. This situation is owing to several conditions. For one thing, there is a social gulf between the company officials and white-collar employees with their families, on the one hand, and the miners with their families on the other; so that neither group readily joins in a church or Sunday school started by or for the other. Again, there is a lack of local leadership. In many cases the personnel of the company group have no interest in churches. Miners that perhaps took an active part in religious work in their former country communities, here feel shy, jaded, and without responsibility for the religious welfare of a community where they have not taken deep root and which they may soon leave. Exceptional miners who have preached before, to be sure, sometimes attempt to hold services. When work fails and many people depart, even the weak churches that existed earlier are badly crippled.

In the mining camps, moreover, there is a very general indifference to religious things. A second-hand car offers the possibility of rapid movement through unfamiliar scenes. Gambling, hard drinking, violence and sensuality are all about.

Finally, though the larger denominations represented in this territory have mission churches in some of the mining camps - indeed, two denominations sometimes work in the same small camp - for the most part the tendency prevails of letting religious institutions take care of themselves without comprehensive investigation or concerted and statesmanlike planning. Such missionaries as there are find the conditions very difficult and discouraging. Their efforts toward improving conditions incur the enmity of those who profit by existing evils. The young home missionary who said, "It wasn't so bad till they began shooting at me," was not exaggerating; a number of ministers have had such an experience. A man's hardest efforts meet with indifference. Even Scout work and other methods intended to counteract the poisonous influences surrounding the boys and girls, are sometimes misunderstood and opposed. The whole situation is unwholesome; and the sporadic local measures thus far adopted have not proved effective.

Summary

In the church situation of the three Appalachian plateaus several main tendencies stand out clearly.

First of all, it is evident that from the beginning churches have been chiefly neighborhood institutions. They were planted not through any definite policy, regional or denominational, but largely through the accidental migrations of families of a particular denomination, or the preaching tour of an evangelist of some other denomination. And churches persisted if and only if the families living in their vicinity continued to give them their loyalty as the generations succeeded one another. Many of the denominations represented here in early days were without unifying organization; and for bodies that did have such organization the isolation and the individualism of the Highlanders tended to minimize the bonds between denominational agencies and the local congregations. Therefore, one district was occupied by certain sects and a neighboring district by others; and the denominations strongest in one plateau were different from those predominating in each of the others.

In the second place, churches of primitive denominations have been preserved in largest numbers in the plateau characterized by the highest degree of isolation, namely, the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau. Here more than a quarter of the churches enumerated by the Religious Census in 1926 were of such primitive sects. Just as archaic plants and animals have been preserved in remote islands of the sea, so in the shelter of the labyrinth of rural valleys, primitive churches have continued to observe their ancient customs and to preach their traditional beliefs.

Primitive churches and customs have survived to an extent second only to that observed in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau and the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau, where also the degrees of isolation and poverty are comparatively high. Such churches are found for the most part in hilly districts served by poor roads. In the Alleghany Plateau, where isolation and poverty are less pronounced, churches of primitive sects are present to a much more limited extent.

By all the churches of the three Appalachian plateaus, moreover, even those of denominations generally considered progressive, old standards of church equipment, program and expenditure have been perpetuated. The church buildings, at least in the open country, are of the one-room pattern familiar to our colonial ancestors. The pay of ministers is small and for some of the older denominations entirely lacking, although the Alleghany Plateau has a somewhat better record than the others in this respect. Church services are still held, with rare exceptions, on only one week-end in the month. The solitary additional church activity for most churches is the Sunday school, and even that is very often lacking in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau. Community service other than through preaching is not considered a part of the mission of the church by the indigenous churches of the Highlands.

All the indigenous churches, furthermore, have continued to hold religious attitudes and beliefs that had their origin in early days in America, or even in Europe at still earlier periods. Such are the belief or half belief in predestination; the habit of deciding what is the truth about any point on the basis of verses from the English Bible detached from their context; and the acceptance of an emotional conversion as the standard type of religious experience.

Chapters on other sections of the Highlands will show that these standards and attitudes, present in the Appalachian plateaus, are characteristic of the Highlands in general; and will also bring out additional tendencies that characterize the church situation of the Highlands as a whole, including these Appalachian plateaus.

Chapter IV

THE BLUE RIDGE

A glance at Diagram III will show that the Blue Ridge section of the Highlands crosses Virginia as a very narrow zone, which, however, broadens toward the southern boundary of the state into the Blue Ridge Plateau, lying partly in Virginia and partly in North Carolina. Thence it expands into a field of mountains fifty miles across, occupying western North Carolina, the eastern edge of Tennessee, and a considerable district of northern Georgia. The general outline of the section as a whole resembles a narrow obovate leaf tapering to a long stem. Occupying twenty-nine entire counties and parts of fifty-three others, and having an area of about 16,200 square miles, it is the largest subdivision of the Highlands. In 1926 it had nearly 630,000 inhabitants, six-sevenths as many as the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau and the Alleghany Plateau combined, but not much more than two-thirds as many as the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau.

In the Blue Ridge, the contours of the land have not been shaped mainly by the action of water, as in the Appalachian plateaus; for the Blue Ridge in geologic ages was repeatedly the scene of titanic mountain-building activities. Therefore in place of the infinite number of narrow, winding valleys separated by horizontal knife-edged ridges, characteristic of West Virginia and eastern Kentucky, the Blue Ridge has comparatively few heights, and these are bolder, simpler and more varied. In North Carolina, between the Blue Ridge proper, which, lying near the eastern edge of the field of mountains, forms the watershed, and the high mountain chain between North Carolina and Tennessee - variously named, but here called the Great Smoky Mountains - lie several irregular cross ranges. Between these subordinate mountain chains rivers flow westward, threading the Great Smokies through deep and narrow gorges.

Subterranean forces repeatedly applied have greatly contorted the strata and have pushed up from below into the midst of the hard old rocks much softer materials in masses rarely of great extent and often very small. Through the wearing away of these softer rocks by the action of water, level stretches have been produced. In rare instances these flat expanses constitute large valleys or basins; sometimes they cover from a few acres to a quarter of a square mile; but for the most part they consist of tiny valleys and pockets among the hills.

The geologic structure of the Blue Ridge has had several important effects on human life in these sections. To begin with, the rather simple system of valleys makes it possible for a few improved roads to come somewhere near most of the habitable districts. In the second place, a large proportion of the area is incapable of supporting human life, even at the low level at which it is lived by the poorest Highlanders. There are numerous stony mountain peaks of 5,000 to 6,000 feet in height; steep-sided gorges, without room for a cabin between rock and river; and precipitous slopes of many square miles in extent. The large basin about Asheville contains city and suburbs, and the smaller level patches have each a farm or hamlet. But a large proportion of the people live in tiny pockets, having barely level land enough for a house and a garden spot, and growing their corn on the steep slopes about them. Isolation of two types is therefore present in the Blue Ridge: the isolation of small groups of families collected in hamlets; and the isolation of single families, or of two or three families, winning a bare existence far from neighbors.

The Blue Ridge section is the part of the Highlands that is best known. From about 1884, when Miss Murphree ("Charles Egbert Craddock") began to publish stories based on observations in a cove among the Great Smoky Mountains, this section has been the one familiar to most writers on the Highlands, and therefore that which stands for the region in the minds of a large proportion of the reading public. Moreover, the beauty and the delightful climate of the mountains have rendered them for a long time a refuge in the heat of summer for many persons living in the hot lowlands of the South, and in winter for a considerable number from the North. These tourists have brought in outside standards and have introduced some enterprises designed to help the Highlanders.

The states in which this section lies began comparatively early to improve their roads, their schools and their agriculture; and today state highways at least connect most of the county-seats and in many cases cross other parts of the counties. In North Carolina the consolidation of schools is well advanced. Moreover, a considerable number of the counties of this section lie partly in the Great Valley or the Piedmont; and the resources and progressiveness of these more prosperous sections bring up the roads and schools of the Highland districts. But it is still true that nearly two-thirds of the farms are on unimproved roads, and that the section is characterized by isolation and poverty, maintenance agriculture, and the other handicaps described in a previous chapter. As a whole, the Blue Ridge occupies in respect to isolation and poverty a mean position among the subdivisions of the Highlands. *

A County with Hollows

A short drive in a county where for the most part the people live in scattered hollows will make vivid the church situation in such territory. Leaving the county-seat, which is crowded between a steep hillside and a swiftly flowing river, we soon turn out of the paved road to follow up a little creek. The water tumbles downward in rapids and falls. On either side rise lofty hills, forest-clad on their upper reaches, and with bold and varied outlines. The earth of the stony road is red clay. No cars are encountered, but now and then a man walks by with a heavy sack on his shoulders, or a boy passes dragging a laden sled.

Wherever there is a bit of level land, or a knoll or gradual slope, there clings a small grey cabin,

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*For the tests upon which this statement is based, see Appendix I.

having a stone chimney with red clay mortar, a roof of long, irregular shingles called shakes, and a porch where braids of peppers and ears of corn, pegs hung with shabby hats and coats, and a shelf set with pails and basins introduce us to some of the intimacies of family life. Few of these porches are unoccupied. On one, in a very straight chair, an old woman clad in dark jacket and long skirt is smoking a corn-cob pipe. Beside another, on the weed-grown ground, sit two gaunt urchins intent on mumblepeg. Here a tall, loose-knit man lounges with feet on the railing and chair balanced on the two back legs.

Near each cabin is an untidy garden patch with beanpoles, and behind on the hillside is a field of spindly corn. Sometimes a woman is hoeing the crooked rows, sometimes a whole family. On a level patch where two streams come together flourish the big leaves of tobacco, which is the only money crop visible to the passerby. Everywhere is evident a hard struggle to wrest a meagre livelihood from tiny farms under difficult conditions.

Not far up the road a sudden turn brings into view a little white church with a belfry. Situated on a height between creek and fork, it stands out prominently against distant grey-blue mountains. Not half a mile beyond this a second church, half hidden in a grove of big oaks, stands near the mouth of another branch. A mile or more of climbing road, and a similar structure comes in sight. A friendly man on horseback, being questioned, declares that this is a schoolhouse. Asked the whereabouts of any churches farther on, he says that a mile up the road to the right there is a Free Will Baptist church, and two miles along the left-hand road a Missionary Baptist church. Or taking the second road to the left and the first to the right would lead by a very rough route to a creek having two churches within two or three miles. With the car it would be better to go back to the river and follow up the next valley. Six churches in so small an area! Where can the people that attend them come from?

The horseback rider, who proves to be a preacher, explains that more people live hereabouts than one might think. Up along all the branches and forks are little hollows, each of which has at least one cabin, and each cabin has four or five children who cannot walk very far to Sunday school. And then the people are of four different denominations, Missionary Baptist, Free Will Baptist, Methodist and Holiness, each group having its own church. Besides, the people on this creek would not go to church in the next valley. Not only is the road between too bad, but the folks over there are none too easy to get along with. The speaker indirectly conveys a strong conviction that a church of one's own denomination within easy reach is among the necessities of life.

Thickly Distributed Country Churches: Churches in as close proximity as those discovered in this drive are common throughout the county, except in districts occupied by high mountains. Two villages and a small hamlet have several churches apiece. Over the rest of the county, churches are scattered along the streams at intervals of from less than a mile to three miles or so. This district of 436 square miles, part of which is occupied by uninhabited mountains, contains seventy-seven country churches.

More than half of these churches, and over seven-tenths of the church members, are Missionary Baptist. Ten other denominations are also represented, those having most churches in the open country being the Methodist Episcopal, South, and the Free Will Baptist. Twenty-six creek valleys have more than one church each. Of these eight have churches of a single denomination, and eighteen have churches of two or more denominations.

Weak Churches: The inevitable effect of the presence of so many churches in territory where the families are scattered here and there along the watercourses is to make the churches small and weak. The average number of resident members at the time of the survey was only sixty-six. Two-fifths of the churches had fewer than fifty resident members and one-fifth had fewer than twenty-five members. In almost all respects the program of the churches is of the same restricted sort that has been observed in the Appalachian plateaus.

The weakening effect of the multiplication of churches is evident through a comparison of the situations in two neighboring valleys. One has two Baptist churches three miles apart, each with a well-kept church house, a membership of over 100, and a well-attended Sunday school and prayer meeting. The relations between these churches are friendly, and some persons attend both. The next valley, although considerably smaller, has four churches of three denominations. They are all weak and are constantly at odds with one another.

In two cases where services at small Southern Methodist churches have been discontinued, the presiding elder has tried to persuade the people to attend another Methodist church, which in either case is about three miles away; but they have not done so, partly on account of the long, hard walk, and partly out of devotion to their own local churches and graveyards.

Interdenominational Relations: There were a few signs of rifts in denominational barriers. Although one church refused to let any person of another denomination assist in the Sunday school, the officers of a certain Christian Endeavor society were all of denominations other than that of the church, four persuasions being represented among them. Both the new spirit and the obstacles it encounters are illustrated in the following episode:

A Methodist and a Baptist church shared the same building till the Methodist preacher stopped coming. The Methodists attended the Baptist services; and on a communion Sunday they were invited to participate. Several conservative Baptists rose then and there and demanded letters. These were refused; whereupon the objectors joined a neighboring church by statement. The dispute was taken to the Association, which "withdrew from" the church that had practised open communion. The church was received, however, into a neighboring Baptist association. A similar experience was undergone by another Baptist church in this county. Situations of this kind are very exceptional.

Popular Regard for Religious Services: The foregoing account of the churches of the county bears out the evidence of the map that the church is a vital and much prized institution in this part of the Blue Ridge. Further evidence of this is afforded by the existence, in addition to the seventy-seven country churches, of twenty-two other points where regular preaching services are held. Two of these arose because distant groups of members of two strong Baptist churches desired branches in their own vicinities. In one of these cases a church house has been erected, and in the other an abandoned building has been utilized. Monthly preaching is held at the branches for those unable to walk to the central church. Some of the more vigorous members attend the services both at the central church and at their own branch. Sunday schools are also cherished, so that there are seventy-five under the auspices of organized churches, and twelve separate from churches, eighty-seven in all. Still more significant is the fact that one-third of the country churches have prayer meetings, a considerably higher proportion than in the Appalachian plateaus.

A County with Hamlets

Let us now make a rapid circuit in a typical district of the other kind of territory common in the Blue Ridge section. It shall be in an elevated county having ten peaks that rise above 5,000 feet. From the plot of green about which straggle out in several directions the perhaps seventy-five houses of the county-seat, three church buildings are easily visible and one large schoolhouse. A fine stone and tar highway leads over a rolling plateau, where stumps indicate that woods have recently been cut off. Presently the road climbs in well-engineered zigzags along a stream to a gap, and thence descends another stream, also in zigzags. Much of the way the hillsides are too steep for habitation, but here and there, far below, are little hollows with one to three houses each. After a few miles of comparatively level road along a larger stream, a sharp turn around a big brick schoolhouse brings us to a narrow valley where till recently magnetic iron was mined. The hills are so steep-sided that the porches of the single line of little houses are well above the road. Only one church building is in sight. However, a question to a woman on a porch brings the information that in this building, which has been provided by the mining company, three churches, Baptist, "Christian" and Methodist, hold meetings, and that the village has also a little colored church. Driving on down a valley bordered by high, bold mountains, we presently pass, on the hill to the left, a new-looking little church house. From a passing boy we learn that it represents one of the denominations having churches in the mining village.

A mile or two farther, in a tiny level valley where streams meet, we pass through a hamlet of fifteen or twenty houses. Here are no less than three church buildings, each of which proves on inquiry to be the scene of monthly preaching services and weekly Sunday school sessions.

Continuing our circuit, ever on the firm tar road, we pass through six more little centers, not one of which has less than two churches. One, which shelters under a towering, craggy peak a big resort hotel and a velvety green golf course, has two plain churches for the all-year residents and a beautiful rustic chapel for the summer visitors. From this village a winding climb through oak and laurel along a tumbling stream brings us to a level stretch having a hamlet of some forty houses. Here, besides a brick schoolhouse, are three churches, among them two Methodist churches, Northern and Southern, standing just across the road from each other.

Competing Churches: In a drive of a few hours we have entered eight little communities, none of them with as many as 500 inhabitants and three of them with fewer than 100, which all together contain twenty white churches. A similar grouping of churches in centers exists elsewhere in the county. Of the fourteen villages and smaller centers, five have three white churches each; five have two each; and only three, all very small, have a single church apiece.

Moreover, certain country districts have churches very close together. Two small valleys, for example, have Missionary Baptist and Free Will Baptist churches a mile or less apart. In another country district churches of four denominations stand even nearer together. Such cases are to a large extent away from improved roads, but they are not unknown on the highways. In the southwestern corner of the county, for instance, is a group of four churches, two Methodist and two Baptist, near together on a paved road. As in the county previously visited, the presiding elder has tried to unite the Methodist churches with another three or four miles to the north, but without success.

There are so many churches, indeed, that although a considerable part of the county consists of high mountain peaks and steep descents, there are more churches in proportion to area than in any of the sixteen other counties surveyed, the ratio being 307 churches to each 1,000 square miles. In proportion to population, moreover, this county stands third among the seventeen, having 6.2 churches per thousand inhabitants.

Small, Poor Churches: The relatively large number of churches in territory too elevated for remunerative agriculture, and with other economic opportunities confined chiefly to a little lumbering and limited employment in nurseries and in small mines, has resulted in churches that are not only small but poor. The average resident membership is only fifty-four, perceptibly below that found in the county previously described. Indeed, a multiplicity of small churches is here considered a good thing; so much so that one of the larger churches has sent off two or three colonies. The churches pay their preachers very little, the average salary payment per church being only $112 a year. This condition in some cases means another occupation and in others a large number of points. Seven-tenths of the churches are served by non-resident ministers, and the same proportion have preaching on only one Sunday in the month.

Many of the schools of this county have been consolidated, even including some of those in the smaller valleys. As the soil contains less clay than that of the other county, the children can manage to walk to the highways, where they are picked up by school buses.

Cooperation Among Churches: The churches, though lagging behind the schools, are beginning to show signs of the spirit of cooperation. Union prayer meetings are held by groups of three churches in each of three villages, and by two denominational groups in each of four country districts. At a point where there was formerly a mission school, without regard to denomination the women of the community are united in a common Ladies Aid, and the men in a large Bible class. Five Sunday schools are union schools. And it is a fairly general custom in centers to attend one another's services, so much so that efforts are made to prevent conflicts. One single consolidation of churches had been effected, several country churches having been combined with a hamlet church of the same denomination; but the possibility of federating churches of different denominations was not even suggested.

The General Church Situation

The Blue Ridge approaches in so many ways the mean among the subdivisions of the Highlands as regards both environmental disabilities and church situation, that it is important to state a few generalizations about the churches of this section.

That churches are held in high esteem here is shown in many ways. Churches and preaching points are so generally distributed that very few neighborhoods are out of reach of some sort of service. Sunday schools are held in connection with seven-eighths of the churches and in many small neighborhoods without churches of their own. Prayer meetings are fairly common.

The desire for readily accessible churches of all the denominations preferred even by small groups, has resulted for sparsely populated country districts in thickly distributed country churches, and for hamlets and villages in the presence of two or more competing congregations. In consequence, the number of churches in relation to population is greater than in any other section of the Highlands. The general ratio for the twenty-six Blue Ridge counties was 4.4 churches to each 1,000 inhabitants, and the ratios for half the counties exceeded this average.

The large number of churches, in conjunction with poverty and a low traditional standard of church expenditures and church functions, has had results similar to those observed in other sections. The 399 churches of the seven Blue Ridge counties surveyed had the comparatively small average annual church expenditure of $340. They paid their preachers annually an average of only $170; and seven-tenths of the churches had nonresident ministers. More than two-thirds had preaching services on not more than one Sunday in the month. Only one church in seven had a woman's society, and less than one church in four had an organization for young people. The ratio of total church membership to population was 39.9 per cent. This figure considerably exceeds the proportions for each of the three Appalachian plateaus. On the other hand, it falls decidedly below the average of 48.7 per cent. for the rural territory of the United States. Holiness preaching existed in all the counties visited, finding a foothold in secluded districts having sterile soil and among poor and uneducated people living lives of monotony and deprivation.

A Communion Service: In view of the representative character of the Blue Ridge, it is fitting to observe in one of the counties of this section a typical communion service, which will throw considerable light on certain religious attitudes common throughout the Highlands. Fortunately the communion is to be administered at a church on Stony Branch in the county with so many hamlets.

Leaving the highway, we jolt our way up a narrow valley where boulders strewn broadcast tell a story of spring floods. The familiar little cabins cling to the lower hillsides at intervals short enough for neighbor to see neighbor's smoke and almost to shout across. Some miles up between the hills are two barnlike church houses almost within sight of each other. The first is Free Will Baptist, and the one farther on, to which we are bound, is Missionary Baptist.

As we drive up, neither human being nor vehicle is to be seen. We open the unlocked door and enter an unceiled, much-battered room. At last people begin to arrive, all coming on foot from the immediate vicinity. Four or five men sit talking in an animated group. Most of the women wear fresh cotton gowns, but several, dressed in rather dingy and ill-fitting silk garments, remind us that a school partly supported by the sale of second-hand clothing is not many miles away. A woman nurses her baby; children run in and out; various individuals go forward freely to drink from the nickel water pitcher. So far there is no sign of any preparation for the communion service.

But now a woman laden with several packages bustles in, making voluble excuses for her tardy arrival. A small square table is placed just below the pulpit. After spreading on this, crooked, a white cloth, the woman sets down in no particular order a two-quart preserve jar with a little dark red liquid in the bottom, two plates, two glasses, and a red and white carton of crackers. These things she then covers with a second cloth, askew like the first but at a different angle.

Remarks by one and another have made it clear that the preacher is late because he has attended a decoration. Finally he arrives, a sober man with one tooth and a deeply tanned face. People who have been waiting outside come in and take seats.

After a hymn with the refrain "How we'll sing in the glory land," a volunteer is called for to offer prayer. The prayer is interrupted by long-drawn-out ejaculations, sometimes tremolo, of "Dear Father! ", "Oh, precious Saviour! ", and the like. The preacher then reads haltingly a scripture passage describing the Last Supper.

Much of the sermon consists of disconnected remarks about the communion service. This is spoken of once as "representing Christ" and again as "kept as a remembrance of how God has dealt with His people." The delivery is very loud, and the intonations at times suggest the rhythm of the old-time preachers. The rambling remarks include a description of the preacher's conversion and a vivid reference to hell.

The address closes with these words: "There are strangers here today. The Baptists are said to be close communion. This is not true. We have no authority of that kind. It is how you are inside. If you are not right with God," very solemnly, "you drink damnation to your souls. I charge you all to examine yourselves."

The sermon ended, a hymn is sung named "It will be heaven all the time." The preacher then calls for four deacons to assist in the service. No one comes forward. The number is reduced to two, but still no deacon is forthcoming. The speaker finally enlists a fellow preacher and another man.

The cracker carton is clumsily opened, and the crackers are slowly and awkwardly broken into bits. When the two substitutes for deacons carry the plates about most of those present look rigidly in another direction or give an awkward shake of the head; and the same thing happens when the tumblers with wine are offered. Out of an audience of about ninety and a church reporting thirty-six resident members, barely half a dozen partake of the elements.

This communion service illustrates, for one thing, a religious attitude that is general not merely in the Blue Ridge but throughout the Highlands. Although these people strongly desire mystical experience, as is proved by their revivals and by the way many of them respond to Holiness preaching, they do not find this through such outward and visible signs as sacraments, symbols, or forms of ritual. They hold the communion service as rarely as seems to them consistent with obedience to a Biblical command - certainly not oftener than once a year.

The absence of form and beauty in the surroundings and in the service is also characteristic of worship throughout the Highlands. This is not owing to lack of sensitiveness to beautiful things; for the Highlanders care for flowers, for scenery, and for color and form in their handicrafts. But in the church house beauty apparently seems to them inconsistent with pure religion. Except under missionary influence, they rarely even put flowers on the pulpit. The bareness of setting and of service is doubtless to some extent an inheritance from pioneer days. But a stronger reason for the distrust of beauty is that, like the cross and like ritual forms, it seems to them "popish" or "Roman." The abhorrence of Roman Catholicism that was burned into the hearts of their distant ancestors is still a vital element in their religious inheritance. Most of them have never come into contact with Roman Catholics, and are as ignorant of their characteristics as a certain Highlander who said with great surprise of the only Catholic family he had ever known, "They paid their bills!" Of Roman Catholic doctrines and tendencies in general they are equally ignorant. This is illustrated by a passage quoted earlier in this book, in which Methodists, Presbyterians, Holy Rollers, Mormons and several other denominations were all alike charged with "Romanizing" the people, where the meaning of the writer must have been as vague as it was sinister. The single definite idea they have about the Catholic Church is that it stands for symbol and ceremonial. And therefore to everything of the sort they are unalterably opposed.

Beside the communion, so rarely administered, the Highlanders have one other rite, that of baptism, which in the recesses of the hills is almost invariably by immersion. Performed at a deep place in the nearest creek, it draws many curious spectators. Although by the conservative Churches of Christ supernatural efficacy is ascribed to this rite, to those of other sects who submit to it, it signifies obedience to a New Testament command, or merely the accepted means of entering the church. Marriage is frequently sought at the courthouse from a county official. Ordination is jealously cherished by the preachers, but rather as conveying dignity and responsibility, than as conferring mystical powers. In all ways, then, these Highland people consistently question the efficacy of forms and ceremonies, and avoid them when they can.

Another significant feature of the service visited was the practice of open communion. Though the denomination as a whole makes no official pronouncement on such matters, opposition to the practice is widespread among Southern Baptists, and the creeds of many local associations explicitly forbid it, as has been shown earlier in this chapter. That a principle so generally accepted among Southern Baptists could be ignored and even denied, illustrates the independence of local Baptist churches, an independence exerted more freely in the Highlands than elsewhere because of the individualism of the people.

Variations

Notwithstanding the typical character of the Blue Ridge, the section presents considerable variety within itself. The two counties already studied exemplify kinds of topography and church situation very common in the Blue Ridge. Brief accounts will now be given, first of a county typical of the unusually isolated parts of the Blue Ridge, and then of a county exemplifying the parts of this section that experience comparatively little isolation.

A County on the Blue Ridge Plateau: The most isolated among the counties surveyed as representative of this section lies in the Blue Ridge Plateau. Railroads touch the county only at the two ends. Highway improvement has but recently begun. A rolling, grassy tableland of high elevation with some lofty peaks, the district is well adapted to grazing. Dairying has been attempted, but the expense of marketing the milk is too high for profitable operation. Although there are prosperous farmers with large holdings, there are also many families making a bare living on very small farms.

In this isolated district churches of primitive denominations have survived in such numbers that Regular and Primitive Baptist churches form one-sixth of the total number of congregations. These churches follow their historic practices, including foot-washing. Among churches of other denominations, though church expenditures are somewhat above the average, the monthly preaching service by a non-resident minister is the rule here as elsewhere in the Highlands; and the church program is of the usual rudimentary nature.

Similar conditions both of environment and of church situation prevail in the rest of the Blue Ridge

Plateau, which occupies practically the whole of five counties and parts of several others. Moreover, both churches of primitive denominations and ancestral religious attitudes have been preserved in isolated districts throughout the Blue Ridge section.

A County with a Wide Valley: A county contrasting strongly with that just described lies in North Carolina, in the eastern part of the Blue Ridge. It contains a wide and fertile valley with a number of side valleys. The main valley was settled soon after the Revolutionary War, and long contained several large plantations. The district acquired a railroad and improved highways comparatively early. For years tourists have boarded in the homes of many residents. Today most of the inhabitants live in the valleys. On all accounts the county is by far the least isolated and most prosperous of those surveyed in the Blue Ridge.

Here are found no churches of primitive sects. The strongest denomination present is the Missionary Baptist, Methodist bodies taken together ranking second in total membership. More than one-third of the churches have 100 or more resident members. The average expenditures per church are the highest not only among the Blue Ridge counties but among all those surveyed in the Highlands. One-third of the churches have woman's societies, and one-half have organizations for young people. More than two-thirds of the churches have services on at least two Sundays in the month. In other respects traditional standards prevail. The non-resident minister is the rule, and outside the county-seat most of the church buildings are of the usual one-room construction. The conditions prevalent in this county are found in other Blue Ridge counties having large valleys.

The contrasts among the four counties described in this chapter, each typical of considerable territory in the Blue Ridge, make it clear that even within the limits of this one section the church situation varies with the degree of isolation and of economic disability.

Chapter V

CENTRAL RIDGES AND VALLEYS

Among all the sections of the Highlands, the highest degrees of prosperity and the lowest degrees of isolation are found in the two sections lying as long, narrow strips between the Appalachian plateaus to the northwest and the Blue Ridge to the southeast, that is, in the Central Ridges and the Central Valleys. Their positions are clearly shown on Diagram III.

The Central Ridges

Of these two sections the Central Ridges experience more isolation than the Valleys, and will therefore be considered first. As Diagram III shows, they lie northwest of the Great Valley of Virginia, extending from the northern boundary of Maryland along both sides of the boundary between Virginia and West Virginia, and on to a point in southwestern Virginia. The section contains thirteen entire counties and parts of twenty-three others; and it has an area of rather more than 10,000 square miles. The inhabitants number about 328,000, thus, being fewer than in any other subdivision of the Highlands except the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau.

As with the sections already described, the contour has been determined by geologic history. Strata of soft limestone alternating with layers of much harder rock were laid down at the bottom of a sea. Later the subterranean forces working all along the line of the Blue Ridge, where it is narrow in Virginia, set in motion long, straight waves in the earth, which were crowded together so that they ran almost vertically to a height of many hundreds of feet. Into the softer strata streams have worn long, deep valleys between the masses of harder rock, which persist in the form of steep and narrow ridges, many of which stretch unbroken for long distances.

Travel across the ridges is very difficult. Three tiers of contiguous counties, consisting of six in Virginia and ten in eastern West Virginia, have no railway east and west. Gravelled roads have been built across the ridges long distances apart, especially from county-seats into side valleys of the same counties. But the people of many neighborhoods are still much shut away by themselves, at least in winter.

On the other hand, the high ridges do not bar progress along the length of the valleys. Surfaced roads extend along the wider valleys, many passing through whole series of counties. Moreover, the section as a whole is fairly prosperous. Much of the valley land has a limestone soil. On this soil blue grass grows luxuriantly, so that such districts are well adapted to cattle-raising. Farms are considerably larger in this Ridge country than anywhere else in the Highlands, and farm incomes are decidedly higher. The comparative prosperity has made it possible for the richer farmers to evade the effects of isolation through the use of automobiles, telephones, reading matter and other means of contact with the great world outside.

A Circuit Meeting: Significant facts about the church situation of the Central Ridges will be suggested by a visit to a circuit meeting, that is, one of the periodical occasions on which the churches of a large circuit meet together. To reach the tabernacle where this meeting is to be held, we drive first across the valley in which the county-seat is situated toward one of the two high ridges that hem it in. Fields of grain, large and well-kept farmhouses and barns, and pasturing herds of comfortable cattle bear witness to the prosperity of the valley as a cattle-raising country. After following a stream through gaps in two low ridges and crossing narrower valleys, we are presently zigzaging up the steep bounding ridge on a good gravel road, built within a few years. From the top we can see down into the valley we have left, which resembles a green ribbon brightened by glimpses of a river. A little farther on, we get a view of the valley ahead, which, rather narrower and much more hilly, presents a park-like stretch of pasture, grove and farmstead. This is called Little Germany, because many of its families are descended from German settlers. Reaching, after many elbow bends, the bottom of the ridge, we turn northeast, and soon pass through an attractive hamlet of some twenty-five well-painted two-story houses, each with its fence and flower garden. This little place has two churches, one of a denomination that originated among German settlers and the other Methodist.

Following a "run," that is, a swift tributary stream among the hills, we come at length to our destination, a tabernacle, or a wide-roofed structure with open sides. About the door and all around under the trees prosperous-looking rural Americans in trim mail-order garments are happily visiting in groups. The people of neighboring communities are seeing one another for the first time in several months.

The country people and ourselves are soon seated on board benches in the big, airy tabernacle, which has a piano and a choir on the wide platform. The speaker of the afternoon, an official of the national home missionary society of the denomination, is a man of intelligence and culture. His sermon is in marked contrast to those of the mountain preachers. Though a text from the Bible is announced, support for the conclusions presented is drawn from "science," from pertinent cases, from reason, and from "the accumulated testimony of men over generations and throughout the earth." The speaker even declares that he would like "to bring the Christian religion into the laboratory for testing." The people seem to be listening intently.

Many Denominations: Among the inferences suggested by this circuit meeting, the most obvious is that the presence of Germans and English - and Scotch-Irish as well, as a matter of fact - among the permanent stocks of the section must have an effect on the number of churches. Indeed, this particular county has 6.6 churches per 1,000 inhabitants; and each of three Ridge counties has seven or more churches per 1,000 persons. The Central Ridges in general have a ratio of 4.2 per 1,000, very little lower than 4.4, that of the Blue Ridge, which, as was stated in the preceding chapter, had the highest ratio among the sections of the Highlands. Not only are there separate churches for the different racial stocks, but the families of German descent in the Ridge country are divided among nine different religious bodies, including both progressive and conservative branches of two denominations; and among persuasions of English origin, there are two Methodist bodies, the Methodist Episcopal and the Methodist Episcopal, South. The topography, moreover, by effectively isolating many small neighborhoods, also tends to multiply the number of churches. Therefore, though the population is less dense than in most sections of the Highlands, church buildings are well distributed over the picturesque rural landscape.

Influence of Denominational Overhead Bodies: Another way in which the circuit meeting attended is significant concerns the relation of Highland churches with denominational bodies. This meeting was arranged by denominational officials, and it brought to the members of the isolated country churches, through a secretary of a national board, contact with the principles and standards of the denomination. A similar bond, though varying greatly in strengh, exists for most of the church people all over the Highlands. Even the congregations of primitive denominations, independent as is each one of them, have their associations, which hold annual meetings and exert some influence on doctrine and policy through the power of "withdrawing" from any church of which the association disapproves. Denominational influence is strongest, naturally, on churches of bodies having a centralized form of church government, like that of Methodists, Lutherans and Presbyterians; and is weaker for churches of a congregational polity, such as the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ. In the Central Ridges the denominations of centralized polity are predominant, their churches constituting seven-tenths of the total number. In this respect the Ridge country resembles the Alleghany Plateau, while at the same time it is in sharp contrast to the Northeastern and Northwestern Cumberland plateaus, in each of which more than seven-tenths of the churches have a congregational form of church government. In consequence of the predominance of centralized denominations, the church situation in the Central Ridges differs from that usual in most sections of the Highlands in several important respects.

In the first place, since the denominational authorities have their chief contact with the churches through the ministers, whom most centralized denominations assign to their appointments, the nature and situation of the ministers of the Ridge country has naturally been modified. Half the ministers in the county in question follow the ministry as their sole occupation. The average salary paid by their churches to the ministers not receiving home missionary aid is about $1,000 a year. This is not only higher than for the counties representative of other sections, but is nearly double that for the seventeen counties taken together, which is only $513. The denominational officials, however, have not been able to raise the average salary payment made by individual churches much above the general average for the Highlands. To make up for this they have grouped the churches of their respective denominations in large circuits. Six of the eight full-time ministers have five or more churches each, besides unorganized preaching points.

Moreover, the ministers in this Ridge county have had an amount of professional training unusual in the region. Two-thirds have at least finished high school; and all but one have either attended a theological seminary or have taken a denominational course for preachers. These ministers, too, with but one exception, are men under forty. Several of them, moreover, have cooperated with forces aiming at community improvement, lending the church building for agricultural meetings, helping organize a community club, or assisting in the conduct of a 4-H camp. These instances, though exceptional, are significant. It is not to be supposed, however, that the sermons of these ministers resemble that preached at the circuit meeting. On the contrary, all those heard by the investigator that surveyed the county were aimed to bring about the sudden conversion of the hearers through fear of hell fire, vividly depicted.

The effect of denominational standards is also apparent in the fact that more than half the church buildings, though as a rule unattractive like most of those in the Highlands, at least have one or more classrooms in addition to the auditorium.

In all these matters, denominational influence has doubtless been reinforced by the greater measure of knowledge of church standards outside the Highlands that is facilitated by the somewhat modified form of isolation prevailing in the Central Ridges.

The results of denominational endeavors have had marked limitations. Money for denominational missions forms a proportion of church expenditures slightly below the average for the seventeen representative counties. The quality of religious education, moreover, leaves much to be desired. Though Sunday schools are numerous and highly prized, they enroll only about half the school population; and the teaching, though done in an excellent spirit, would not meet generally accepted standards. Classes to prepare for church membership are held by the Lutheran churches only. Church societies for women, for young people and for other groups are relatively no more numerous than in the average Highland county. Here, as elsewhere in the Highlands, traditional conceptions have stunted all standards of church work.

A Decoration: Gatherings partly religious and partly social are frequent in the Ridges, as elsewhere in the Highlands, and are of a number of different kinds. Among them one of the commonest is the Decoration. Few churches fail to have such an event once a year. It is not held on the thirtieth of May or on any other one date; but each church chooses any Sunday during the spring, summer or fall for which no neighboring church has made special plans. This account of church life in the Highlands would be incomplete without a description of such an occasion. Let us observe a decoration in the Ridge country, bearing in mind that similar events are held everywhere in the Highlands.

The cemetery visited is on a narrow hilltop. As we approach, we see groups of people scattered about. Coming nearer, we notice mounds of earth coming to an even edge in the direction of their length, cleared, as is the space between them, of every weed and spear of grass. The graves lie parallel east and west, so that when the last trumpet sounds all the dead may rise looking eastward. At head and foot are low stones, which, with the exception of a few commercial monuments, are in the rough without even name or date.

Each grave is decorated with from one to six bunches of bright-colored artificial flowers, stuck into the earth in a row. Occasionally a "living decoration" is held, at which real flowers are used; but many prefer to honor their dead with ornaments produced at the expense of money and labor.

In the shade of a few trees stand several preachers; and close beside them, and near by among the graves, the people are gathering to listen to the decoration exercises. These consist chiefly of sermons and prayers. After preliminaries the speaker of the day preaches on the text, "If Christ be not raised, your preaching is vain." Here is the sermon, much condensed:

> "If Christ was not raised the preaching all down the ages has been in vain. Every single dollar spent on church houses has been spent in vain. What you people here have put out on this cemetery, you have spent altogether in vain. We might just as well break up the tombstones. It would be better to sell the bodies for fertilizer and have the bones ground. For they that are dead have perished forever; and we shall never see our loved ones any more.
>
> "But have we said Christ has not risen? No, indeed. After the crucifixion seven of the twelve disciples went back to fishing, for they said, 'He's gone now.' But when they knew He was risen, I tell you it would have taken every devil out of hell to have shuk one of them disciples after that. The disciples had been with Him three years and He was only away three days: do you suppose they did not know Him? Thomas said, 'I

> thrust my hand into His side where the Roman soldier put his sword. I know it was Him.' Six hundred people saw Him during the forty days He was back on earth. There's your witnesses. These are undeniable facts, and you can't shake them.
>
> "Oh, friends, if I didn't believe Jesus rose, I'd want to be chloroformed. For I'd know I should never see the face of a single dead friend and know him.
>
> "Some day, dear friends, Christ is coming again. He will take up with Him some from this silent city of the dead. He will pick out from this crowd those that have saving faith in Him; the rest will be left.
>
> "One more thing and then I'm going to hush. Salvation is not a progressive thing. If you are saved by grace, you are saved all at once. One moment, you are dead in sins: the next you are the ransomed child of God. It is not anything you do, but something that is done for you. And finally in the grave every particle of dross will be cleansed away."

After a long prayer, another preacher, asked to speak, said:

> "When these little mounts bust forth, I shall know them. I believe with all my heart we shall know them because the Lord said we would know them. In one of these graves is my good old mother, who rocked this boy when he was helpless. When he was a sinner going the downward road, she was a witness that Jesus rose from the dead. Some day I shall see her again.
>
> "Once a year we visit this silent city. I think we should come oftener, we have so many loved ones who are sleeping here. We have not yet gone down, but we are numbered

> to go. God has given us a space of time. He has provided this hot day and this bright sunshine in order that we may be saved. If you want a part in the resurrection, get ready for it today. By this time another year some one may be sticking flowers in our graves. If after this life of labor and sorrow you want a blessed home in heaven, do not delay for a single hour to make your peace with God. You may not be here tomorrow.
>
> "How many in this group want to be among those who go up? Raise your hands. Brother Walsh, I think I could see all the hands go up. Them that's not ready, why just get ready, and them that's ready just hold onto Him. What is He coming for? To make a separation. For those that are not ready that is going to be a terrible time."

This speaker ends by singing in quavering, mournful tones, a hymn about "a little green grave on a hill." This sets most of the women to weeping, since practically all of them have lost small children.

By this time the faces of the older people, men as well as women, are quivery and in some cases streaked with tears. Boys and girls look self-conscious and awed. Several other men say a few words. One trembling old man quavers out, "I feel I may live to see the Lord come up yonder," looking up with hand raised. "I'm so thankful I have my ticket, and I want everybody else to have a ticket, too." Other remarks bear on the longing to see lost loved ones, or on the hope of getting safely through a troublous life to a calm harbor in heaven.

Mountain Preaching: The two addresses summarized above illustrate some of the characteristics of the sermons of mountain preachers. Their language combines stately Biblical phrases with homely idioms and an occasional vivid metaphor. Coming from fellow Highlanders, who share the emotions and the religious beliefs of their hearers, the statements and appeals of the sermons go home to the minds and hearts of the people, and especially to those of the older among them.

Religious Concepts: Some of the religious attitudes implied in these sermons are already familiar. Such is the emphasis on a sudden conversion as the standard form of religious experience. Not so well appreciated, perhaps, is the preoccupation of the Highlanders with the future life. To these denizens of an underprivileged country this world is a place of suffering and privation, designed for the testing of character and as preparation for a brighter life to come. This attitude has been handed down for many generations. It was held by the European ancestors of these people when they were minorities persecuted for their faith. During pioneer days it was fostered by privation and danger. It is still comprehensible in view of the bare and hard conditions of the great majority of the people in the Highlands. This complex has two elements. The first is a fatalistic acceptance of the present life as full of troubles that must be accepted because divinely appointed. This conception flowers with some of the aged saints in a strong and beautiful resignation. On the other hand, it results in the supine acceptance of much discomfort, inconvenience and disease that a little "divine discontent" would quickly sweep away.

The complementary conception, preoccupation with the future life, is manifested in many ways. The fear of hell is one of the chief motives appealed to by revivalists. The joys of heaven are described in many sermons, and form the theme of most of the hymns sung at religious services, as is illustrated in several of the services described in this book. Among the 156 hymns in a hymnbook used in the mountains, ninety-six, or about three-fifths, either had heaven for the main theme or included references to heaven. Hardly one of the scores of services attended by the investigators failed to include several hymns on this subject.

Another peculiarity of the religious concepts of the Highlanders that was well illustrated at the decoration observed is that they contain a large element of emotion. Fear and hope, affection for the beloved departed, especially for a departed mother, longing for heaven - these feelings, rather than intellectual doctrines or standards, seem to dominate in forming religious attitudes. Some topics have so strong a sentimental appeal that in an audience at such a gathering as the decoration they will almost invariably bring tears. Themes having this emotional effect are mother, home, lost friends and heaven. Combine two or three of these in a musical selection on such an occasion, and even a quartette of singers can hardly control their voices to the end.

The denominations represented in the two gatherings visited were not of primitive denominations. Such churches are relatively few in the Ridge country, forming only one in fourteen of the churches reported by the Religious Census. Those present represent both English and German bodies, and are found chiefly in the more isolated districts.

Of the two religious gatherings visited, one exemplifies the influence of denominational agencies, and the other illustrates the spontaneous activity of local congregations - complementary tendencies present in varying degrees throughout the Highlands, but nowhere more evident in combination than here. Moreover, the fact that both assemblages had at once a social and a religious aspect is typical of many popular gatherings all over the Highlands.

The Central Valleys

Between the ridge and plateau country to the northwest and the Blue Ridge section to the southeast, lies, like a green ribbon of varying width, the deep trench occupied by the Central Valleys. This section, which is shown on Diagram III, includes the whole or practically the whole of twenty-three counties, and parts of twenty-seven others. The area is about 13,180 square miles; and the population, exclusive of that of three large cities, is about 842,000.*

On the site of the Central Valleys there lay in long past ages a shallow sea inhabited by microscopic marine creatures. The cast-off shells of these tiny beings accumulated on the sea bottom along with occasional banks of mud brought down by mountain streams. These deposits of various kinds were in course of ages solidified into limestone and other rocks, were folded one upon another, and finally were elevated above the surface of the ocean. Since limestone is comparatively soft, the strata of this rock were gradually worn down by the upper waters of a series of streams into the deep trench now present. Because of the varying hardness of the rocks, together with the folding of the strata, the surface of many districts has been carved into hills, which are frequently grouped in intricate patterns. On the whole, however, passage is easy for one traveling with the country, that is, northeast and southwest; while it is obstructed by hills for the traveler across the country, that is, one going northwest to southeast or the reverse.

The implications for human life of the geology of the Central Valleys are very different from those holding for the more rugged sections bordering them on either side. The fact that passage is easy along the length of the valleys led to the early construction of highways and railroads, which have made isolation unnecessary for inhabitants whose homes were fortunately situated.

On the other hand, many districts among the hills and knobs have always been difficult of access, especially considering the facts that the soil into which limestone disintegrates is clay, and that even today many of the roads among the network of hills have not been surfaced. Four out of nine of the farms of the section were on unimproved roads in 1930.

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*These Central Valleys do not include the southern end of the huge trough passing through the Highlands; for the Southern Valleys in Alabama and Georgia, being lower, more fertile and farther south, are within the cotton belt, and therefore have a much higher proportion of colored people, a fact that considerably modifies the situation of the churches.

On the whole, the Central Valleys are among the most prosperous of the sections of the Highlands. The predominating limestone soil is fertile, and agriculture in the more favored sections is comparatively lucrative. The northern end is famous for its apples. Tobacco is a profitable crop in many districts; in others small fruits are raised extensively; and dairying and poultry-raising are both common. Cities afford readily accessible markets. The rocks contain material for cement plants, and deposits of iron have long been mined. Factories were early introduced. Here, too, institutions of learning have been in existence for generations.

On the other hand, parts of the valleys have been far from prosperous. Many fields once tilled were quickly run out. Some districts had soils derived from other strata than limestone. Antiquated methods of farming were handed down in secluded valleys among the hills. In such places, ignorance and conservatism remained undisturbed. The presence of industrial centers in parts of the section brings the wages of commuters to a few country districts. On the other hand, for some localities the quality of the people is believed by certain observers to have been lowered through migration to the factory cities of the more able and enterprising.

The comparative prosperity of much of the valley territory affords the possibility of better support for social institutions, including churches; and the near vicinity of larger centers, with the better developed institutions usual in such places, affords a stimulating example for country communities. Nevertheless, many secluded districts are almost entirely out of touch with cities and towns.

In contrast to the other sections of the Highlands, in short, the Central Valleys have furnished ready access and favorable conditions to the influences toward change that occasioned so great a transformation in rural life in the United States during the second and third decades of the twentieth century. Highways were rapidly surfaced, the condition of the schools was improved, industrial plants were enlarged and multiplied, and centralization in large centers of both population and activities made rapid progress.

A Valley District: All these changes were exemplified in the county chosen to represent the Central Valleys among those surveyed for the present study. Corresponding changes occurred in the church situation. The latter kind of changes can be measured with considerable exactness, since the rural churches of the same county had been investigated by the Institute of Social and Religious Research ten years earlier. Study of the church situation in this county, therefore, or rather in that larger portion of it that lies in the valley, to which are restricted the comparative church data presented below, will not only throw light on the rural churches of the Central Valleys as the section of the Highlands which has always suffered least from isolation and poverty, but will make it possible to observe how the rural church situation has altered in the course of a decade during which isolation has greatly diminished, and prosperity, due allowance being made for the depression, has shown a marked increase. The changes in the church situation will be better understood if the alterations in the local environment are first summarized.

Environment: Between 1921 and 1931 a big industrial plant, already in existence at the beginning of the decade, was greatly enlarged, and a second was built, for which the previously constructed power dam in the near mountains was supplemented by a second. These big plants and other smaller concerns provided labor for a greatly increased number of men, part of whom lived in the county-seat and its industrial neighbor, and part commuted from homes all over the surrounding valley districts.

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*As part of a study of twenty-five counties typical of all sections of rural America, the findings of which were published in the twelve volumes of the *Town and Country Series*, New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1922-1924).

The surfacing of roads, which had been begun before 1921, had been pushed so far that a spider's web of gravelled roads surrounded the county-seat, and several through roads had been hard-surfaced. Along with the rapid improvement in the roads went a corresponding increase in the number of automobiles; and frequent bus service was afforded on the three principal highways.

The farmers had turned their attention from general farming, including the raising of grain, to the production of such specialized crops as truck, small fruits and tobacco, which the improved roads and an enlarging use of trucks in delivery enabled them to market to advantage. Much building was in progress, not only in the county-seat and its neighbor the industrial center but along the improved country roads. This construction included many farm homes and a considerable number of school buildings.

The county-seat was rapidly drawing to itself many interests and services that ten years previously had been distributed, such as lodges, doctors and amusements; and to a neighboring large city, drawn closer by cement highway, cars and buses, people were going for many purchases and recreations. The roads and cars were utilized more and more for pleasure driving. A number of public schools had been consolidated, school equipment was better, both the number and the enrollment of high schools was increased, and the requirements for teachers were more exacting. The local college had dropped its preparatory grades while increasing its enrollment; and it attracted many students from the rural districts of the county as well as from a much wider area.

To sum up, prosperity and the means of communication had both grown; and with them had developed centralization of interests, broadening of the horizon, increase in intelligence especially among the young people, and enrichment of experience through new interests and recreations.

Churches: The most obvious change in the churches in the decade was illustrated by two church buildings standing side by side. A white wooden church house of a single room was being replaced by a more commodious structure of brick. A similar substitution had been made by several other churches. Still other congregations had added class-rooms to their church buildings, or had provided partial partitions or curtains to separate Sunday school classes. Several churches, too, had improved the surroundings of their buildings, clearing up the grounds or even planting trees and shrubs.

The number of churches, fifty-one in 1921, was fifty-two in 1931, the abandonment or consolidation of a few organizations having been offset by the formation of new ones. Total resident membership had increased by well over one-third, so that the average membership per church had risen from fifty-three to seventy-one. In the process, the number of very small churches had diminished, and at the same time the number having more than 100 members had mounted from four to thirteen. The increase in church membership was at a much higher rate than the rise in population, so that the proportion of the inhabitants enrolled in the churches had risen from about a fifth to a fourth. Moreover, a rather lower proportion of the membership consisted of dead wood than had been the case a decade earlier.

A centralization of interest at the county-seat parallel to that observed in secular affairs was also evident in the life of the churches. The number of country people enrolled in the membership of the town churches had risen from 368 to 871, thus having considerably more than doubled. The tendency to drive to town to attend church services, already perceptible in 1921, had become more marked. Town churches were recognizing a responsibility for the country churches of the same denomination. The Baptists had begun to sponsor religious work in a country community prevailingly of that denomination, and they held a monthly meeting to which the ministers and deacons of all the Baptist churches in the county were invited. The Presbyterian college held young people's conferences to which several of the country churches of that denomination sent young men and young women. The town Methodist Episcopal church had become the center of an active larger parish including all the Methodist Episcopal churches within the county and just outside the boundaries; and it held for the country churches training classes, workers' meetings, pageants and other activities. Some of these gatherings brought together representatives of several neighboring country churches, and others assembled members both from the country churches and from the central church in the town.

Another marked change consisted of a decrease in denominational exclusiveness. People visited neighboring Sunday schools of other denominations held at hours not conflicting with their own. Singers helped with the music at the decorations and funerals of near-by churches whatever their denomination. Persons moving to a neighborhood having no church of their own preference attended accessible churches of other denominations and in some cases transferred their membership to such churches. Certain Vacation Bible Schools were conducted as joint undertakings by neighboring churches of different denominations. On the other hand, two pairs of churches that were discussing federation in 1921 seemed to have ceased to consider such a step.

Furthermore, a tendency was evident towards more general use of methods urged by denominational agencies. Certain churches were for the first time making a success of the budget system. The number of churches having societies for women and for young people had become somewhat more numerous. Sunday schools, while slightly increasing their membership, were giving more attention to teacher training, and were in some cases introducing graded lessons. No great change, however, had taken place in the frequency of preaching services. One-third of the churches had preaching on only one Sunday in the month, and only two of the fifty-two churches had preaching services on more than two Sundays.

On the other hand, the average annual expenditures of the churches had fallen from $515 to $410, a decline of about one-fifth; and the expenditures per member had dropped from $9.73 to $5.80, a loss of two-fifths. The decrease in expenditure did not affect average salary payments, which, on the contrary, had risen from

$193 to $265. Though even $265 is very small, yet the rate of gain was over one-third. The decline appeared in other local expenditures, in spite of the building programs of a number of churches; and it was even more marked in regard to benevolences, which had been unusually high in 1921 on account of the national missionary campaigns of many denominations, then at their height. On the other hand, the number of churches receiving home mission aid from the boards of their denominations had fallen from thirteen to six. Some part in all these changes in financial situation may well have been played by the general economic depression.

There had also been a falling off in attendance at church services. The average church audience had declined from eighty-one to sixty, a loss of one-fourth. Church leaders reported with concern that the good roads and automobiles, by enlarging so greatly the field of interest and enjoyment, tended to draw people away from preaching. The ratio to population of total average attendance at the churches declined in the ten years from 26.4 per cent. to 18.1 per cent. Moreover, the proportion of church members under twenty-one declined from 23.7 per cent. to 19.4 per cent.

In short, although the churches of this valley district had increased in membership and had approached nearer to accepted standards in many institutional features, nevertheless they had lost in popular influence, as tested both by contributions and by attendance; and they had also come to include smaller proportions of young people in their membership, in spite of offering more features supposedly attractive to youth.

Can the lessened hold on the public be explained? Let us see what the churches offer in the way of religious teaching. Light will be thrown on this question by a revival sermon preached in the summer of 1931 in a church of the Central Valleys, though not in the county surveyed.

A Revival Sermon: The country church at which the revival is being held is a new-looking brick building plastered inside, with two class-rooms, into which part of the large audience overflows, opening with wide doors from either side of the auditorium. The preacher is a thick-set, active man of about thirty, who speaks with great energy and speed and employs many gestures. Though he has plainly had theological training, he uses the homely, forceful turns of phrase common among Highland preachers.

After a hymn, "How beautiful heaven must be," and the reading of the story of the journey of Abraham's servant in search of a bride for Isaac, the preacher declares that everything in the Old Testament is not only true in a literal sense, but is also a type of something in the New Testament, called an anti-type, or of some fact of Christian experience today, or of both. The rest of the sermon takes up one by one the incidents of the Old Testament story, bringing out some allegorical parallel for each. The character of the discourse is well illustrated by the concluding paragraphs, which were as follows:

> "I don't imagine it would be pleasant to ride along a dusty road through the heat on an old hump-backed camel. But the Holy Spirit was at Rebecca's side, telling her about the wonderful bridegroom that was waiting for her at the end of the journey, and the marriage supper that would be held that night.
>
> "The Bible tells us that there is going to be a marriage supper of the Lamb. God will say, 'Father Abraham, return thanks, please.' 'O God,' Abraham will say, 'I thank thee for all these children that have come through great tribulation.' Then, the Bible says, Jesus will come round and serve us. Won't it be a happy time when Jesus comes to my side, taps me on the shoulder, and asks me what I want?
>
> "It is nineteen years since I sat down at table with my mother. She went to glory and left me to make my own living when I was only eleven years old. I shall sit down with

> her at that great table in the air. But the one I want to see the most is the One that hung upon the cross to save me.
>
> "There are many trials and temptations in life, and we often want to give up. But when we think of the glory hereafter, we are able to keep on -
>
> 'The toils of the road will seem nothing
> When we come to the end of the way.'
>
> We never know when the end of the way will come for us. Are you ready, if the trumpet should sound and Jesus should come this morning? If you are not ready, will you prepare now?"

Four persons respond to the appeal; a laborer, a woman, a young man and a boy of ten. After these persons have been labored with the service closes, as it began, with a hymn about heaven, which in this case has as its refrain, "I am bound for the promised land."

The people of the church where this revival was held must have desired preaching like that reported; for they had engaged the speaker, a well-known minister in the county-seat of an adjoining county, to preach during their annual protracted meeting. Several sermons fundamentally similar to the one above were among the seven heard by the investigators in the valley county surveyed. One, on the text "What must I do to be saved?" presented many Bible verses in answer to the question proposed. A second declared that "all religious experience is found in the way of the soul back to God." A third concerned the search for the lost sheep, and a fourth explained the importance of preparation for death. Each of these sermons, it is clear, dealt with conversion. All of them based their assertions on verses from the Bible. Each was concluded by an earnest appeal to the sinner to be converted - an appeal, however, that was not in any of these cases followed by even one conversion.

These sermons make startlingly clear the fact that in the Central Valleys, where changes in the environment have been taking place so rapidly, the preaching is still very much what we have found elsewhere in the Highlands. A sudden, emotional conversion, sought through evangelistic appeals and intensive revival services, is the great objective of the churches. And religious teaching is based on Biblical phrases, traditionally and sometimes fancifully interpreted.

Of the ministers in the county in question, a comparatively high proportion were native to the Highlands. Moreover, nearly half of them were more than fifty years of age, whereas for the seventeen representative counties taken together the proportion was not much more than a third. A rather larger than average proportion, too, had been twenty years or more in the ministry. A few of the older men are retained because they have won the confidence of their churches through long and faithful service. But in this valley section, comparatively accessible to news of what is being thought in the world - the section, indeed, where the Scopes trial took place - the churches are presumably inclined to distrust the attitudes of younger candidates, and deliberately choose the older and more conservative preachers.

The decline in church attendance in this section would seem to indicate that such preaching as has been illustrated is not attractive enough to the constituents of the churches to bring them to church in spite of the newly developed counter attractions.

A Sunday school Class: Some explanation of the relative decline of the number of youthful church members may be obtained by attending a typical young people's Sunday school class.

The Sunday school visited is conducted in a businesslike way. The exercises proceed swiftly and smoothly, and all seem to enter heartily into the singing and responsive reading. The young people's class consists of a large group of girls and young men of high school and college ages. The teacher is an agreeable, self-possessed young woman in her early twenties.

She reads questions from the quarterly in a matter-of-fact way that puts the young people at ease. The subject of the lesson is "If meat make my brother to offend." The class is evidently puzzled as to what it is all about, and the teacher is equally in the dark. Presently a boy blurts out, "I don't understand that meat business," and the young man next him adds, "Is it wrong to eat meat today?" The teacher gets out of it by appealing to the strangers. After an explanation about the scruples of some early Christians regarding meat offered to idols it is easy to get the young people to enumerate issues on which people in their own county have conflicting views of right and wrong. They name several, including ball games on Sunday and automobile trips at church time. The remarks of the young people show keen minds, power of independent thinking, and a liking for discussion. After class the young teacher explains privately that her training has been in primary work, and that she only takes the young people because there is no one else to do it.

"No one to teach the young people" seems to be a general difficulty here. A very frequent situation is illustrated by the young people's class of a Sunday school of another denomination. Here there is a class of twelve older boys and girls. The man who is trying to teach them reads questions from the quarterly which he usually answers himself, since the young people are not listening. Only one has any remark to make.

That the position as teacher of a young people's class in this section is not desired, and that teaching of such classes is usually far from efficient, is readily understood when it is borne in mind that these young people are learning in high school and college many things which their parents have never heard of, and which those of the older generation who have heard of them are unable to correlate with their ideas of Bible truths. Here are two illustrations:

A minister's son came home from high school after watching the dissection of a Negro's heart in physiology class. Full of what he had seen, he gave an account of it at the dinner table, ending, "The heart is just a pumping machine; there is no soul to it." The father was shocked and grieved. At a loss for arguments he blamed the teacher, quoted passages from Genesis, and repeated the hymn lines,

"Oh, doubt not the Bible, no letter, nor line,
The wonderful message, the message divine.
Your forefathers loved it, and also did mine."

The boy was silenced; and next time he kept his questionings to himself.

Another boy came home saying, "Mother, every intelligent persons believes in evolution." The mother quietly replied, "I don't know how God made the world. Does it matter?" And the boy hastened to respond, "Oh, mother, I never doubted that God was behind it all."

Of these two ways of meeting the questions of the young people the former is far the more prevalent here. The Sunday school teachers as a rule discourage any frank speaking that might sound heretical. Therefore they do not know what the young people are thinking about. These large groups of intelligent, eager and puzzled boys and girls offer the churches a wonderful opportunity. The opportunity is not being seized. Under the circumstances, it may be wondered how long these young people will continue to attend Sunday school.

Comparison of the Churches of Six Highland Sections

The wide differences among the sections of the Highlands in regard to the situation of the churches that have been evident in the accounts just concluded, correspond in great measure with the variations previously described in degree of isolation and of poverty.

To begin with, in the poorest of the sections and the one most effectively secluded from the outer world, the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, many churches of primitive denominations still observe their time-honored rites and listen to the half-chanted harangues of old-time preachers. Such phenomena exist, too, though they are less common, in the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau. They are present also to some extent, chiefly in isolated neighborhoods, in all the other sections of the Highlands. The proportions of the churches of each section, as reported by the Census of Religious Bodies: 1926, that belonged to primitive denominations, is shown graphically in Diagram IV.

Furthermore, the attitudes and practices of pioneer days not only exist unchanged in such primitive churches, but they color the religious principles and the conditions of church life in all sections of the Highlands, in degrees which also vary in great measure with the degrees of isolation and of poverty.

The situation as regards church buildings is a case in point. In the counties studied in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau one-third of the churches have no building, worshipping in schoolhouses; and the proportions of houseless churches decline as prosperity and ease of communication increase, till in the valley district surveyed no church was without its own edifice. Again, the condition of the church houses was very poor for three out of five of the churches in the Northwestern Cumberland and Alleghany plateaus, and left much to be desired for two out of five of those in the Blue Ridge and the Central Ridges. In the Valleys, however, church buildings were on the whole painted and well-cared for; their surroundings were in good order; and many improvements were being made in church property.

Average expenditures, moreover, though everywhere small compared with those of rural churches in general, varied by sections with economic prosperity and contact with the world, from $86 for one of the counties in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau to $608 for a Blue Ridge county with a fertile and prosperous valley section. And a somewhat similar parallelism was discovered for the proportions of churches that had Sunday schools.

The number of churches in relation to area for the different sections varies for the most part with the density of the population. But the isolated

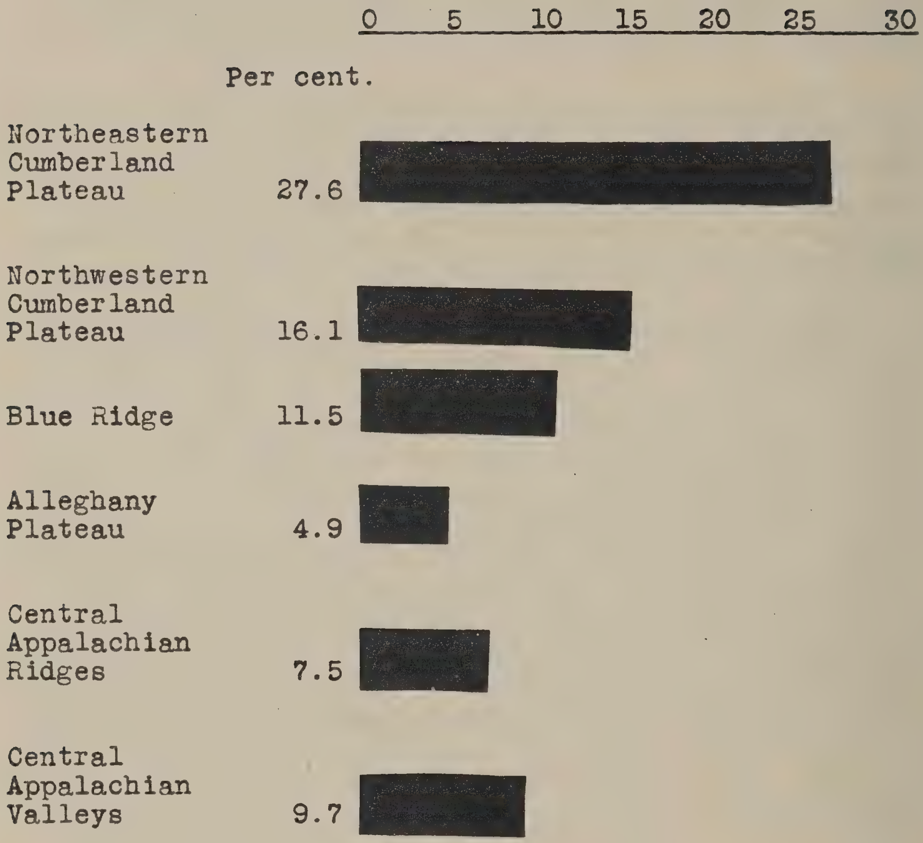

Diagram IV - Proportion of Churches Belonging to Primitive Denominations, for Six Sections of the Highlands

In this, and other charts in this chapter, the order of sections is that of their comparative degrees of isolation and poverty. The tests used are set forth in Appendix I.

Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, which ranks second in density, ranks only fourth in number of churches per 1,000 square miles. In the labyrinth of valleys churches have been planted and have lived or died, without much oversight and without cooperative planning; and there are accordingly plenty of districts with inadequate religious ministry.

For this among other reasons this plateau ranks lowest in ratio of number of churches in relation to population, having but two churches for each 1,000 inhabitants. At the other extreme in this respect stand the Blue Ridge and the Central Ridges, with 4.4 and 4.2 churches respectively per 1,000 persons, high ratios accounted for by topographical barriers and by the denominational competition that was shown on earlier pages to be unusually intense in these two sections.

The extreme individualism prevailing in the isolated Northeastern and Northwestern Cumberland plateaus has made for the predominance in these sections of churches of a congregational type of polity, each sufficient unto itself. Even in 1926, in each of these plateaus 72 per cent. of the churches belonged to such denominations, Baptist churches of various kinds predominating. Churches of congregational polity, and particularly Baptist churches, were also comparatively numerous in the Blue Ridge. On the other hand, in the Alleghany Plateau and the Ridge country, both largely in West Virginia, Methodists have occupied the field from very early days, comparatively few Baptists settling in that part of the Highlands; so that churches with centralized polity predominate in these sections. In the Central Valleys, the strength of these two contrasted groups of denominations is more evenly divided. The strong contrasts among sections in regard to the form of denominational polity predominating is brought out clearly in Diagram V.

The greater strength of churches of centralized denominations in the Alleghany Plateau and the Central Ridges has to some extent modified the church situation in these two sections. A somewhat higher proportion of preachers give their whole time to the ministry, a

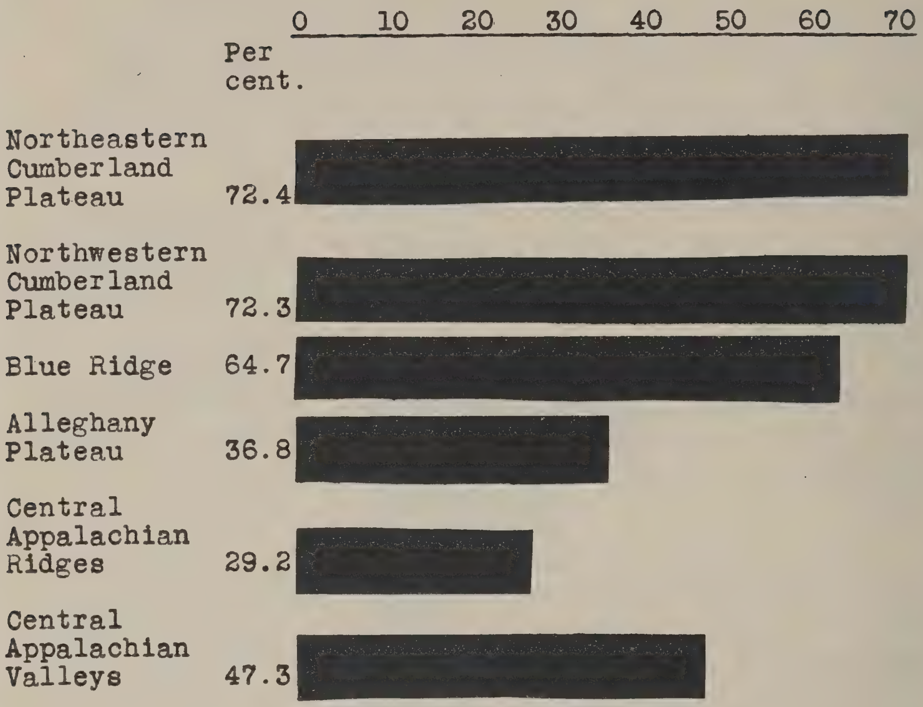

Diagram V - Proportion of Churches Having Congregational Polity, for Six Sections of the Highlands

rather larger proportion of them have had at least some education, and through serving large circuits they receive a little better salary. Church buildings, too, are not quite so rudimentary, or church services so informal and crude.

Some correspondence to variations in isolation and poverty, again, appears in the degrees of enlistment of the people in the membership of the churches. Comparison of the first bar of each set in Diagram VI shows that membership to population are lower for the three plateaus than for the other three sections; and that among these plateaus the ratios vary with the two handicaps named. The Blue Ridge, however, has a ratio somewhat higher than that of the Central Ridges and nearly as high as that of the Central Valleys.

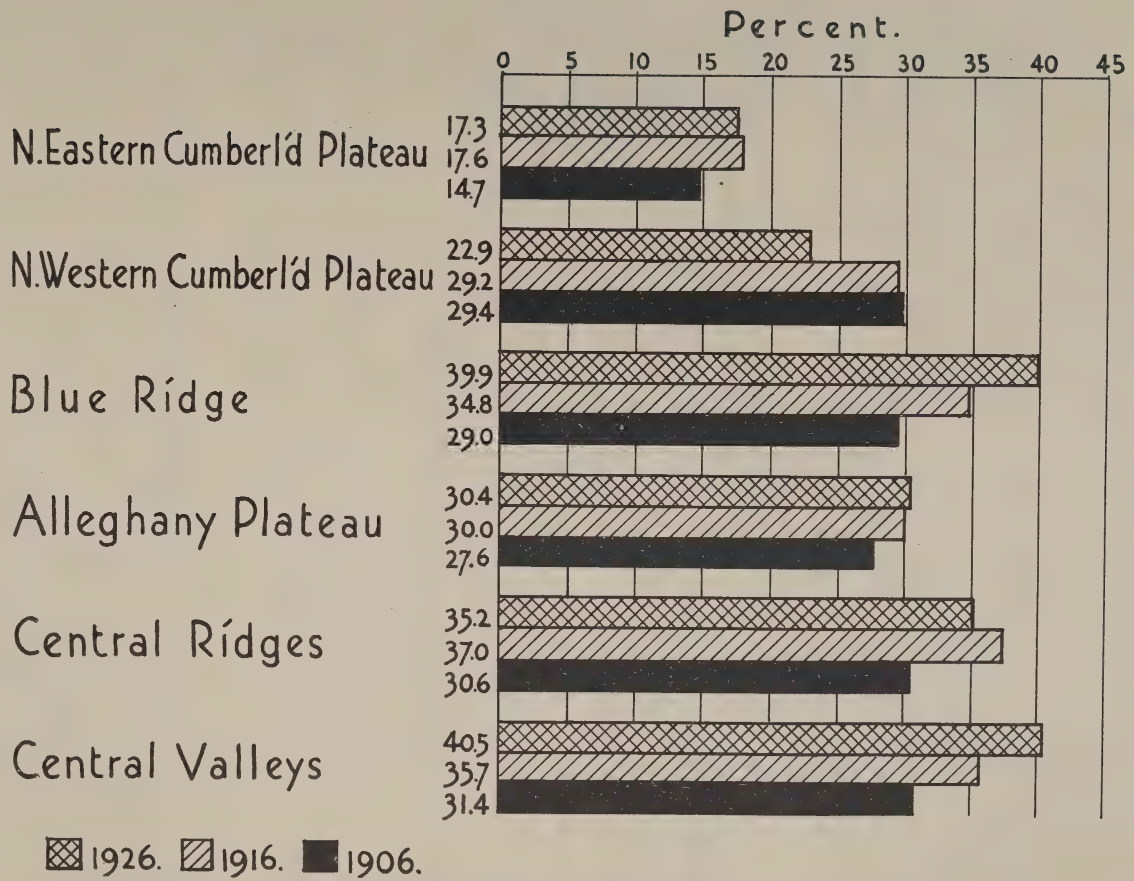

Diagram VI - Ratio of Total Church Membership to Population, for Six Sections of the Highlands, 1926, 1916, 1906

As is evident in the same chart, the ratio of total church membership to population, for most sections, was somewhat higher in 1916 as compared with 1906, and for half the sections was higher in 1926 than in 1916. Evidently the churches were progressively enlisting larger proportions of the people in their membership. To this general tendency, however, there were certain exceptions. The ratio instead of rising in the twenty years had declined for the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau, where shifts of population following the close of mining operations had crippled many churches. For the Central Ridges, too, the ratio, though higher in 1926 than in 1906, had fallen somewhat during the second decade.

In ratio of church membership to population, and in percentage of the church membership composed of young people, therefore, the more fortunately situated Ridges and Valleys rank with or below the strictly mountainous counties of the Blue Ridge. This fact tends to corroborate certain indications, already pointed out, that in territory where greater freedom of contact has brought rapid changes involving the multiplication of interests, the churches show some deficiency in the power to hold their natural constituents, especially the younger among them.

Chapter VI

THE GENERAL CHURCH SITUATION

Unlike as are the six sections of the Highlands in many particulars, they agree both in having for generations been poorer and more isolated than average rural territory in the United States, and also in having preserved to an unusual degree, because of these conditions, the religious attitudes and forms of church life that were prevalent in earlier days. For this reason the rural church situation is uniform throughout the Highlands in many important respects. These common characteristics form the subject of the present chapter. Matters in which the churches of the less handicapped sections have come to vary from the rest will not be emphasized. The account will refer primarily to the country churches, which constitute three-fourths of the total number. The work of home missionary ministers and churches will be left out of account, consideration of this topic being deferred to later chapters.*

Church Members

In this region, where ministerial service is almost entirely confined to monthly visits from non-resident ministers, the nature of the churches is determined to an unusual degree by the standards and characteristics of the members.

Standards of Church Procedure: The standards held by Highland church members regarding church procedure are to a great extent the result of tradition. A large proportion of the members have never seen a church building that is different from the bare, one-room structure used by their own church. They have not seen a church organ, even of the pedal variety. Never in their lives have they attended such an enriched service of worship as is almost universal in cities and large towns. Their standards regarding all church matters are therefore unaffected by contact with churches having ways different from their own.

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*See Chapters VII and VIII. Statistical generalizations naturally take into account data for all churches in the seventeen representative counties surveyed, whatever the kind of community, and whether or not they received home missionary grants.

Moreover, these people get very little through reading. Schools are so new in this region that few of the older church members, who largely run the churches, received the equivalent of five grades of elementary school. Though most of them can read after a fashion, they read with great difficulty and rarely undertake the task. And they have little reading matter. Libraries are almost unknown in the Highlands; few homes contain books; and magazines are seldom seen. The radio, too, is very rarely found. And since the preachers are to a great extent uneducated men who have grown up under the same conditions, they say little to modify the conceptions of the members. Therefore, the only kind of church the members know about is the kind their fathers had.

Along with traditional church ways the members have inherited the conviction that these are the only right ways. The limitations of the churches of their pioneer ancestors have been exalted into principles. An example of this is the attitude of many country churches toward musical instruments. A home missionary with a portable organ is often asked to push it back into a corner, to cover it up, or even to remove it from the building. An organ belonging to a certain church was deliberately destroyed by a local man who thought it "plumb heathenish to hev' sech a thing in the house of the Lord." Many refer to organs as "newfangled divil-boxes." This view not only prevails for the whole of çertain primitive denominations, but is also common among many churches of other denominations. The pioneers could not have organs in the wilderness; their great-grandchildren have come to believe them wrong.

Other standards regarding church practices have similar origins. The bare box of a church house was the only kind possible in colonial days; it has become the accepted form of church edifice. The interval of a month between preaching Sundays grew out of the rarity of the visits of ministers in early times; the church people now defend it as rendering the privilege more highly appreciated.

The camp meeting, moreover, at which preaching went on for several days or a week, was developed to meet the religious needs of thinly settled areas, where many families, since they had to come so far to obtain religious privileges that they could not come often, desired a series of meetings when they did assemble. Though the conditions have entirely changed, this institution has been perpetuated in the almost universal protracted meetings, with services two or three times a day for one or two or three weeks together; and these protracted meetings are still considered the most important part of the church year.

Again, pioneer churches gave their ministers little or no remuneration because they had almost nothing to give; the churches today pay little more because, as many believe, the gospel should be free for all men.

For a long time missions had no meaning for churches that were shut off by the hills from knowledge of heathen lands, even if they had possessed money to contribute. Anti-mission principles not only became the distinctive doctrine of several conservative bodies but were accepted and handed down quite generally among other Christians.

All the way along poverty reinforced the low standards of church expenditure and procedure. The conscience of the rank and file of the church membership grew to be strongly enlisted on the side of what rural churches elsewhere would regard as serious deprivations. This condition persists today.

Religious Attitudes: Tradition has not only handed down principles governing church procedure, but to a large extent has furnished the church people with their religious attitudes and beliefs. Convictions are not reached through reasoning during adolescence or maturity, but are impressed ready made on the minds of little children. From their earliest years the boys and girls hear at home various dogmatic statements about such topics as heaven and hell, the Bible, sin and Roman Catholics. They hear a particular statement over and over again before they know what it means. Taken to church from babyhood, they receive what the preacher says without understanding it. At funerals and revivals what they hear in this passive way has highly emotional associations. Through all these experiences there are built into their minds convictions not based on any reasoning of their own. And as the dogmas came to their parents and to the preachers in much the same fashion, they are not accompanied, as a rule, even by second-hand reasons, beyond the one argument universally used, "The Bible says."

Among the forms of mental reaction thus handed on by tradition, one of the most fundamental is precisely the use of the Bible as the ultimate source of authority regarding truth of whatever kind. Ancestors of Reformation and pre-Reformation days, coming fresh to the Bible and acquiring from it vital, first-hand knowledge of great moral truths, had an unbounded admiration for the Scriptures; they read and pondered over them and came to know them well. And in place of the Catholic Church, which had previously been considered the authority on matters of religion, they adopted as a source of truth the Bible, or rather Biblical passages personally interpreted. Their veneration for the Scriptures was handed down; but the first-hand detailed knowledge of the ancestors was not attained by their descendants. The church members of today do not read the Bible much. Not only do they find all reading difficult but they consider the Bible particularly hard to understand. Yet they think they know the Bible well. What passes with them for knowledge is an unassorted mass of second-hand impressions and detached texts, which have come to them partly at home and partly through the sermons of the preachers.* Their form of religious thinking is the application of Bible verses to the issues in mind. And theological argument, which is very popular, consists of the quoting by both sides of supposedly apposite scriptural texts. These texts they frequently misunderstand, since they take them without knowledge or regard for their context. A deputy sheriff, for example, understood in a literal and physical sense the poetic expression, "Thunder is the voice of God, and the stars are the dust of his feet."

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*About the use of the Bible by the preachers more will be said later in the chapter.

Out of Bible texts and dogmas based upon them by long-ago preachers, there developed, first in Europe and later under pioneer conditions in America, a philosophy of life, which has been passed down to the church members of today. According to this philosophy terrestrial existence is a stupendous tragic drama, with the fate of human beings to all eternity dependent on divine predestination and redemption, satanic temptings, and to an uncertain extent for most Highlanders, the will of man. As a period of testing, life is properly full of trouble and suffering, which will be compensated for to the saved by everlasting bliss in heaven. Those not saved must endure to all eternity the fiery torments of hell. The climax of human experience is the conversion. Whether divine election or human choice plays the decisive part in conversion is a problem on which church people disagree not only with one another but within their own consciousness, ideas on the subject being very cloudy and inconsistent. But the conception of a divine will supreme over the lot of man is powerful, if not always dominating, for most of the Highland Christians. This theory of life explains why a sudden conversion is the standard type of religious experience. It also accounts for the prevailingly evangelistic kind of preaching, and forms the usual justification offered for protracted meetings. It throws light, again, on the failure of the churches to combat social and community evils. Above all, it lies at the root of the supreme importance ascribed to religious services and experiences by the church people of the Highlands; and it helps to explain their vital sense of the reality of spiritual things.

Immaterial forces are by these people set above physical laws. In their ignorance of scientific facts they do not realize that everything happens according to fixed laws; and they therefore have many superstitions. Dreams must be told to break the spell. A mark like a "W" on a locust's wing prophesies war. Seed must be planted and eggs set at propitious phases of the moon. The same belief in magic affects their religion. It governs their attitude toward prayer, and lies behind the very general practice at critical moments of opening a Bible haphazard, and receiving as a message from heaven the verse on which their first glance rests.

Religion in general is for these people a field in which reason and education are not supposed to avail. Religious truth is believed to be conveyed by inspiration. Out of this generally accepted conviction an old man prayed, "O Lord, we thank Thee we's ignorant. O Lord, make us ignoranter."

Another characteristic of the religious attitudes of the Highlanders is the strong element of emotion found in them. Religious concepts are closely bound up with love of home and relatives, which are very strong among the Highlanders. Materials for reasoning are scanty; the habit of thinking is undeveloped; and at the same time the craving for emotional relief from a hard and monotonous life seeks satisfaction through religious experience. Fear, hope and bereaved affection respond to the slightest touch. At the time of the "big meetin'," emotion and crowd suggestion sweep many off their feet; and this experience instead of being guarded against is deliberately sought.

All these religious tendencies are deeply ingrained, for several reasons. They are instilled very young. Not being based upon reasoning they are not easily dislodged by intellectual considerations. They are intimately colored and warmed by emotion, and are associated with the deepest and most sacred of sentiments. They are shared by all the members of the church group and are respected by the unconverted. And finally, they are invoked over and over at weekly Sunday school sessions, monthly preaching services, and rarer but more impressive occasions such as funerals and decorations. These attitudes are so firmly fixed in the minds of the people as to be practically unchangeable in adult life. Individuals may become indifferent to religion; but they cannot easily change from their own traditional forms of religious reaction to those natural to the inhabitants of other sections of the country.

The well-known individualism of the Highlanders, though not in itself a religious attitude, has distinct effects upon the life of the church. Used to living and acting separately, the church members find it difficult to work together as churches. Corporate activities are few. Differences of opinion occur among the members, which often give rise to parties within the church, and even split many a congregation into two. The same tendency has contributed to the close neighborhood of churches of different denominations.

Classification: Turning from the attempt to understand the distinctive religious attitudes of the church members of the Highlands, let us gather a few matter-of-fact data regarding them. They are predominantly country people, for over three-fourths of them (78.2 per cent.) live in the open country, and only about an eighth (12.2 per cent.) in centers of 500 or more inhabitants. They include a proportion of women and girls rather higher than that for the average church in the United States.* It is the men, however, who are prominent in public. In all the counties taken together something over one-fifth of the resident members are young people under twenty-one, and just about one-third are forty-five and over; but in the more isolated counties where primitive churches abound, there are more people in the older group and far fewer in the younger. And only about two-thirds of the members on the church rolls still live in the community and show interest in their churches.

Organization

The self-governing churches that constitute far the greater number in several of the typically Highland sections have a minimum of organization. Even churches of denominations for which particular methods of local church government are prescribed are more loosely governed than in other regions, because communication between denominational officials and local church is difficult, and because the individualistic local group often pulls hard against the reins.

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*The number of men to every 100 women in the churches is 71.7 for the representative Highland counties, (versus 78.7 for the United States, according to the Census of Religious Bodies: 1926, Vol. I, Table 17).

As a rule the churches are small. In the counties surveyed, only one church in eight had as many as 100 resident members; nearly three-fifths consisted of fewer than fifty, and over a quarter had fewer than twenty-five. The proportionate distribution of the churches according to number of resident members is represented in Diagram VII. The average resident membership for all the churches in these seventeen counties was only fifty-eight.

The chief elected officer is the clerk, who is usually, though not invariably, a man. Because of his duties of keeping the church roll and recording the minutes of church meetings, he is selected not only for character but for ability to read and write. That the scholastic level is in some cases decidedly low is evident from the following extract from the records of a primitive church, which represents fairly many church books in the Highlands.

"The minets of last meeton was red and reproved."

"By motion and Second the names of the new members Bee put on wreckerd."

Besides the church clerk, most churches have one or more deacons. If there is no qualified person for this office, they sometimes have a "borrowed deacon" belonging to a neighboring church of the same denomination. Churches with no expenditures or very small ones rarely have a treasurer. But churches of denominations having standard forms of organization, such as Methodist and Presbyterian, presumably have the required officials.

In addition to elected church officers, commonly very few, and the usual officers and teachers of the Sunday school, the congregations frequently include active laymen called "public men." These men are

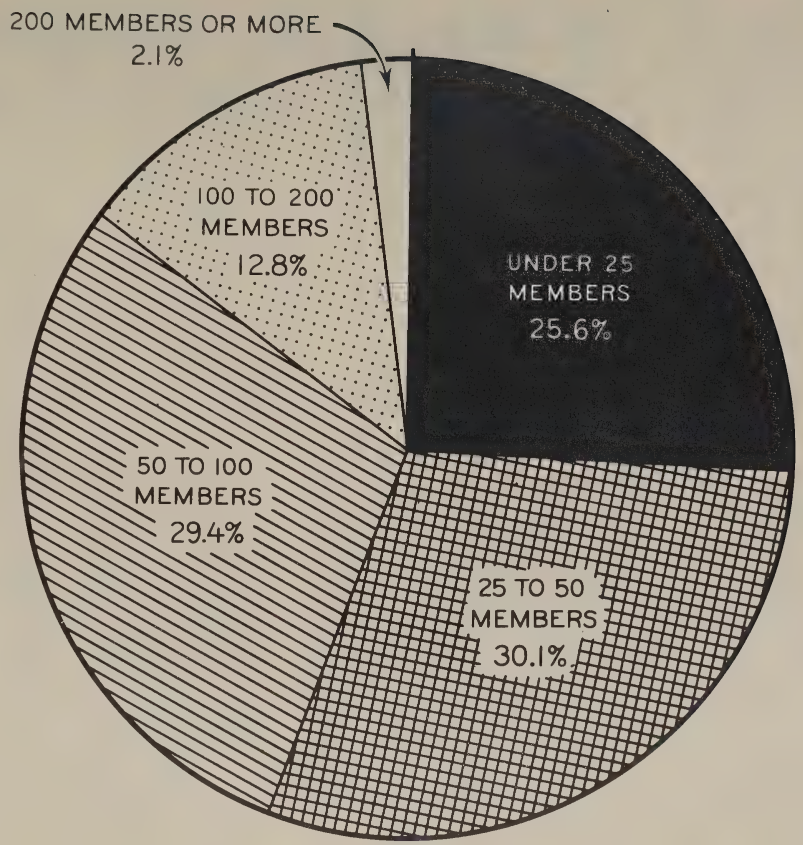

Diagram VII - Distribution of 993 Rural Churches in Seventeen Counties of the Highlands according to the Number of Resident Members looked to for leadership in church matters, and for speeches and prayers as occasion requires. They sit on benches to the right of the preacher's "stand" or platform, and at right angles to the main body of benches. How much this honorable position is desired is illustrated by the following anecdote:

A very ignorant man said to an educational missionary with whom he was walking, "I think I could be a public man." The missionary ignored the remark. The other persisted, "I think I could make a public prayer. Want I should try it and show you?" The missionary consented, and the man knelt down in the road and offered a sample prayer. Rising, he asked, "How did it go?" The missionary could not condemn the prayer. After that the man was asked to pray at services and was considered a public man. The prayers at preaching services are regularly offered by such laymen, the preacher either inviting some one by name or asking for a volunteer. Several laymen sometimes take part in the same service. These men also make ejaculations during the sermon and prayers, such as "Amen!", "Praise the Lord," and the like, and they have been known to question the orthodoxy of statements by the preacher, after or even during the service.

Business meetings are frequently held in connection with the Sunday preaching service, usually just after the sermon. The business is very simple, consisting chiefly of the reading of the minutes, the receiving and granting of letters, and the discipline and exclusion of erring members.

Denominational Distribution

Churches such as have been described are numerous in most parts of the Highlands. In 1926 the 170 counties wholly within the region contained 14,359 churches. This corresponds to three churches to each 1,000 inhabitants. This ratio, though half again as high as that for the United States in general, namely, two churches per 1,000 persons, is somewhat lower than that for the wider region of which the Highlands is a part, namely, 3.4.*

These churches represent ninety-eight denominations, including eleven Baptist bodies, nine Methodist bodies and seven Presbyterian bodies. Each of twenty-three denominations is represented by 100 or more churches. Forty-six per cent. of the churches and 47.2 per cent. of the church members represent denominations of centralized polity, and 54 per cent. of the churches and 52.8 per cent. of the church members belong to churches of congregational polity, the latter type of denominations thus being somewhat stronger in the region as a whole.

Among families of denominations the Baptist bodies are the strongest, including two-fifths both of the churches and of the church members. The Methodist family of bodies ranks second, with one-third of the churches and three-tenths of the members. The four single white denominations that are strongest in churches and in members and that are also found in the largest numbers of counties, are the Southern Baptist; Methodist Episcopal, South; Methodist Episcopal; and Presbyterian in the U.S. The comparative strength of these denominations, measured by total membership, is indicated in Diagram VIII.

Denominations introduced by German settlers number fifteen, and enroll 6 per cent. of the churches. The small element of colored people is served by churches of twelve denominations. For eighteen primitive denominations 1,596 churches were enumerated by the Census of Religious Bodies: 1926; and at the same period fifteen perfectionist bodies had 430 churches besides many unorganized groups not taken into account by the Religious Census.

The large number of denominations represented in the Highlands results in the presence in many districts of two or more small competing churches. This circumstance helps to account for the small average number of members. Moreover, rivalry and sometimes ill-feeling

*For the South Atlantic and East South Central divisions combined. Data from the Census of Religious Bodies: 1926.

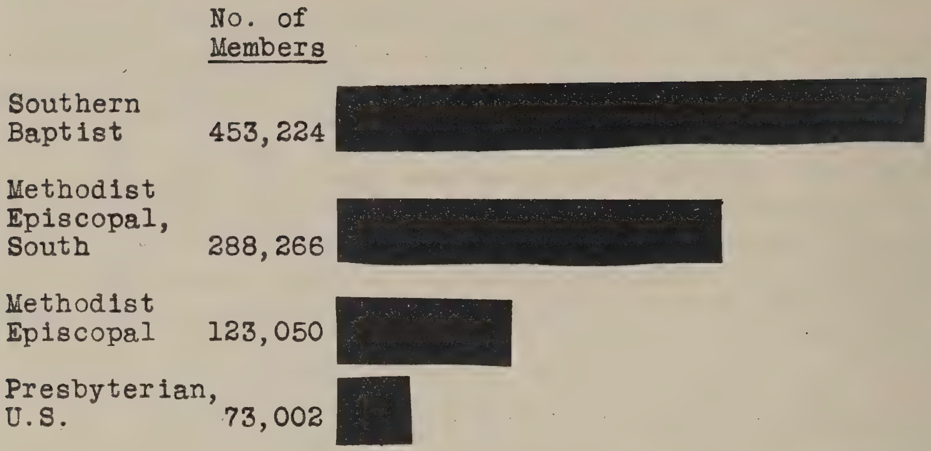

Diagram VIII - Total Membership of Churches of the Four Strongest White Denominations in 170 Counties Entirely Within the Highlands

exist among neighboring churches of different denominations.

The Preachers

The religious attitudes of the church members are to a great extent shared by the preachers. Many of these men grew up into the same traditions as their hearers, being natives of the same area. Seven out of ten of the ministers in the seventeen counties surveyed were born in the Highlands, one-third of the total number being natives of the Highland section of the same state as their churches, and one-fourth being natives of the same county. Eleven out of every twelve were Southerners. The preachers of the Baptist churches and of churches of other denominations having congregational polity are usually men of other occupations who live near enough to permit monthly visits for preaching. The ministers of the Methodist churches and of churches of other centralized denominations are for the most part natives of the same general territory and often of the same part of it.

Education: Moreover, for a large proportion of the preachers, the traditional religious attitudes of the region have not been modified by advanced education. Among those of the seventeen counties surveyed, a considerable number were unable to read when they felt the call to preach. A typical example of this class of preachers said: "I never went to school nowhere. When I got saved at twenty-eight, I did not know half the letters of the alphabet. My wife taught me to read in the gospel of Mark. A month afterwards I read a chapter before a congregation. The Lord giv' it to me, I reckon."

By many preachers ignorance is not considered a handicap. Primitive Baptists quote in defence of their uneducated preachers the Bible phrase, "The letter killeth"; and it is very common for the mountain preachers to speak of a trained minister as "factory-made, not God-made." A preacher holding this point of view explained it to an educated minister as follows: "I am empty from the bottom up, like this hat," holding the hat upside down in front of him. "The Lord has a chance to fill me. You have an education, and the Lord can fill you only from where the education leaves off."

Preachers with such views make little attempt to learn more than how to read the Bible. Some justify this course by quoting the verse, "Abide in the same calling wherein ye were called," which they apply to education.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that few of the preachers acquired much education. Of those in the counties surveyed, one in twenty-one had received no formal schooling. Not far from half had failed to complete the elementary grades, and only a third had completed high school. Only about one in five had graduated from either college or seminary; and only one in twelve was a graduate of both these kinds of educational institutions. That these proportions are low as compared with those for all ministers in the same states and in the United States in general is shown by Diagram IX.* A somewhat higher proportion of ministers of centralized denominations than of those representing de-

*Data from C.L.Fry, The U.S. Looks at Its Churches (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930), p. 148.

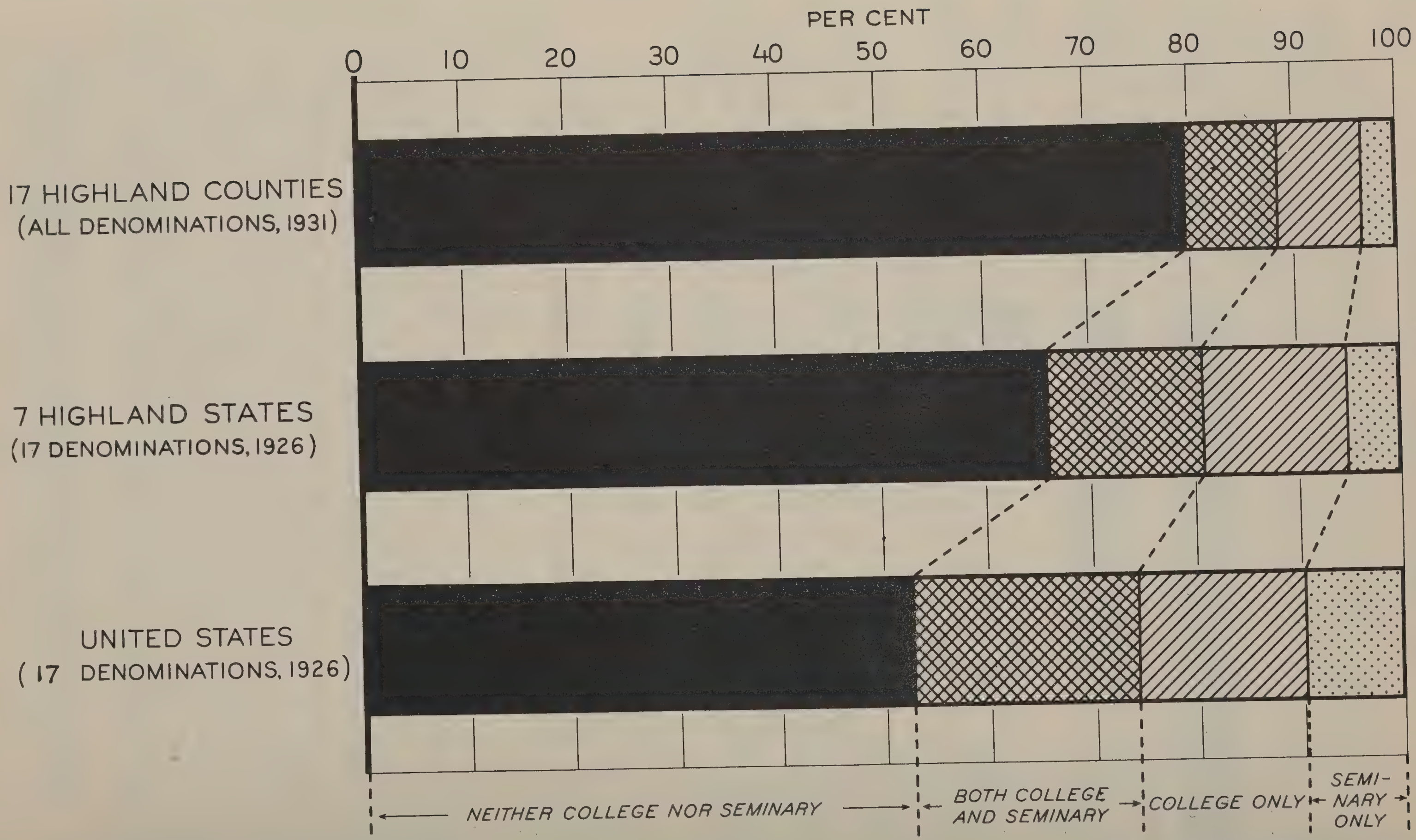

Diagram IX - Training of Rural Ministers in Seventeen Highland Counties and Elsewhere nominations of Congregational polity are equipped with some training, especially through courses of reading required by denominational provisions. One in six of the ministers serving churches in the seventeen counties surveyed had attended mission schools.

Many of the younger preachers today appreciate keenly the handicaps resulting from their lack of education. Their ignorance and their bad grammar puts them at a disadvantage when representing the interests of their people before mine officials, school superintendents and educated people in general. They do not feel qualified to lead devotions or to make speeches in the new high schools. They cannot understand and meet the new problems arising for the churches from the transformation of the environment. Their sense of inadequacy was expressed by one of them in these words: "If the high-school boys and girls know more than I do, I cannot lead them. In comes a foreign idea that is wrong, and I can do nothing. Pleasure-seeking comes with the good roads. If the preacher is not ready to deal with the situation, the people are swept away. I.W.W's come into the mines, and we preachers don't know how to meet them."

Such men are eager for an education; but as they usually have a wife and children, for whom they must provide through hard work at a bread-winning occupation, it is in most cases too late for them to go through the schools.

Occupations: Another circumstance that gives the preachers of the Highlands an outlook very similar to that of their hearers is that during the week they work at the same bread-winning occupations followed by other men of the territory. In this respect they carry on a tradition handed down from pioneer days. Some other occupation in addition to preaching was followed by five out of eight of the preachers in the counties surveyed; whereas the usual proportion for rural territory in the United States is only one in four.* The occupation followed by the largest proportion of the preachers was farming. Nearly two-thirds of the preachers having other occupations were farmers; and of the entire number, including those devoting full time to the ministry, farmers constituted 42 per cent. These farmer-preachers shared not only the religious attitudes but the whole environment and especially the economic conditions of the great body of their hearers. Nearly one in ten of the preachers with other occupations were teachers. Smaller proportions were engaged in business, factory work, mining, handicrafts, personal service and unskilled labor; and several were students.

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*Based on data from E.DeS.Brunner and J.H.Kolb, Rural Social Trends (New York; McGraw-Hill,1933), Appendix Table 71.

Number of Churches Served: Ministers without other occupation, devoting their whole time to the service of their churches, were obliged as a rule to divide their attention among an unusual number of congregations. Half the number of such ministers in the counties visited served four or more organized churches, whereas among rural churches of eighteen major denominations in 1926 the proportion of preachers that served four or more churches was about 20 per cent.*

The average number of churches per minister was 4.5 for Methodist bodies, for which the professional minister with a circuit was the regular arrangement. The preachers of Southern Baptist churches, who commonly had other occupations, served an average of 2.5 churches apiece. The same ratio prevailed for Presbyterian churches, with their emphasis on the full-time resident minister.

Pastoral Work: Since so many of the preachers work hard at other occupations all through the week, they are unable to give much pastoral care to their congregations. The distribution of the churches according to the amount of pastoral care they received is shown in Diagram X. Churches with resident ministers are in the minority. Not quite a fifth of the thousand churches surveyed had a minister living in the same community; and only twenty received the full time of a resident minister, sixteen of the twenty being situated in villages. Three-fourths of all the churches, and more than four-fifths of the country churches,

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*C.L.Fry, The U.S. Looks at Its Churches, p. 43.

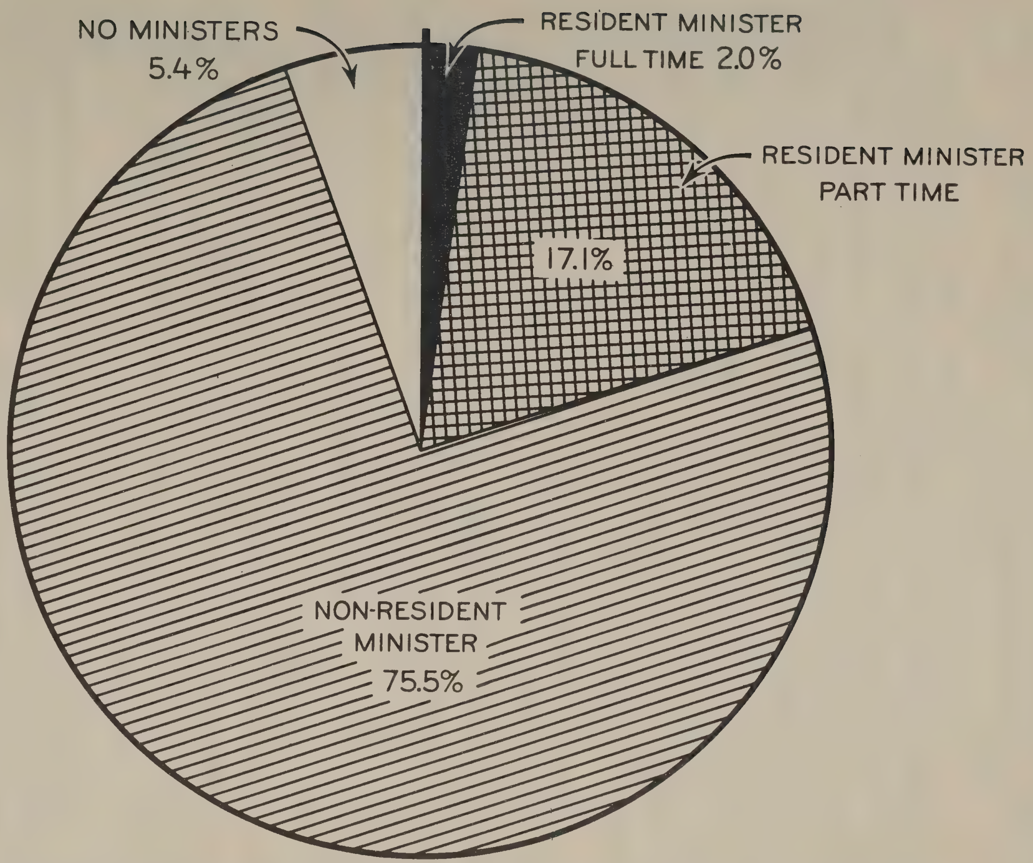

Diagram X - Distribution of 991 Rural Churches in Seventeen Highland Counties according to Amount of Pastoral Service had preachers who resided elsewhere, although for rural territory in the United States the proportion of churches with non-resident ministers is only 45.1 per cent.*

The time available for pastoral service is still further lessened by the distance between the homes of the preachers and their churches. This distance was less than five miles for only three churches out of eight; it was between five and twenty-five miles for rather more than half the churches; and it was twenty-five miles or more for one church in ten or eleven. The distances were magnified in many districts by the serious impediments to travel. Where the roads are such that most travel is on horseback or muleback even a few miles is a serious obstacle to making calls.

Pastoral visitation, in truth, is very little practised. One preacher in seven does none whatever. Some are debarred from such work by the exacting nature of their other occupations. Others do not consider it a part of their duty. About a fifth of the preachers spend in calls and other pastoral activities a few hours each month but less than ten, that is, less than an average of one hour every third day. Not quite a quarter spend in such work as much as fifty hours a month, that is, less than two hours a day. Many of the pastoral visits are to the sick, or are paid all at once during the days of the protracted meeting; and the few families in the habit of entertaining the minister over the week-end get a considerable part of the short time devoted to pastoral activities.

Compensation: A traditional attitude which many preachers tend to share with their people is disapproval of payment for preaching the gospel. As has been shown, the inability of the people to pay in the distant past, and failure of the preacher to receive compensation, were rationalized into a prejudice that is still very deeply ingrained. Salaried ministers are frequently condemned as "hirelings" and "money chasers." How strongly this sentiment may be held is illustrated by the following example. A preacher rode a long way on horseback to preach. Urged to accept fifty cents for feed for his horse, he finally took the money. That night his conscience would not let him sleep. In the morning, going haggard to church, he declared, "I can't preach today. I have taken money."

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*Based on data from Rural Social Trends, Appendix Table 67.

For the primitive denominations unpaid preachers are the universal rule; and of all the preachers in the seventeen counties studied, about 18 per cent. received no salary whatever. The widespread prejudice, moreover, lowers the scale of ministers' salaries for all churches. One preacher in seven received in the year compensation amounting to less than $100; and two out of five were paid less than $500 each. Little more than one-fourth of the preachers received as much as $1,000 a year, taking into account both home missionary grants and cash allowances for the use of parsonages. The distribution of preachers according to range in amount of compensation is represented by Diagram XI.

These figures are far below general standards. In the Highland counties only 27 per cent. of the preachers had an annual remuneration of $1,000 or more; whereas in twenty-one counties representative of rural America the average salary, without allowance for parsonage, was $1,409.*

Characteristics: Since a large majority of the Highland preachers reach that status not by taking a course of training but by trying their hand at talking and praying before local churches among other laymen, only those are ordained who have certain qualifications that the people consider desirable. One thing that is taken into consideration is the voice. Many of these preachers have voices that are not only strong but sonorous and sympathetic. The preachers for the primitive churches must also be able to employ the peculiar rhythmic cadence, with its short phrases, its rising crescendos, and its sudden drops into conversational tones. Command of language is also a pre-requisite of the would-be preacher. Biblical phrases, in particular, must come readily to his tongue. He must have power to hold the attention through shrewdness, homely common sense, humor and vivid descriptions and anecdotes. A

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*Rural Social Trends, p. 228, footnote.

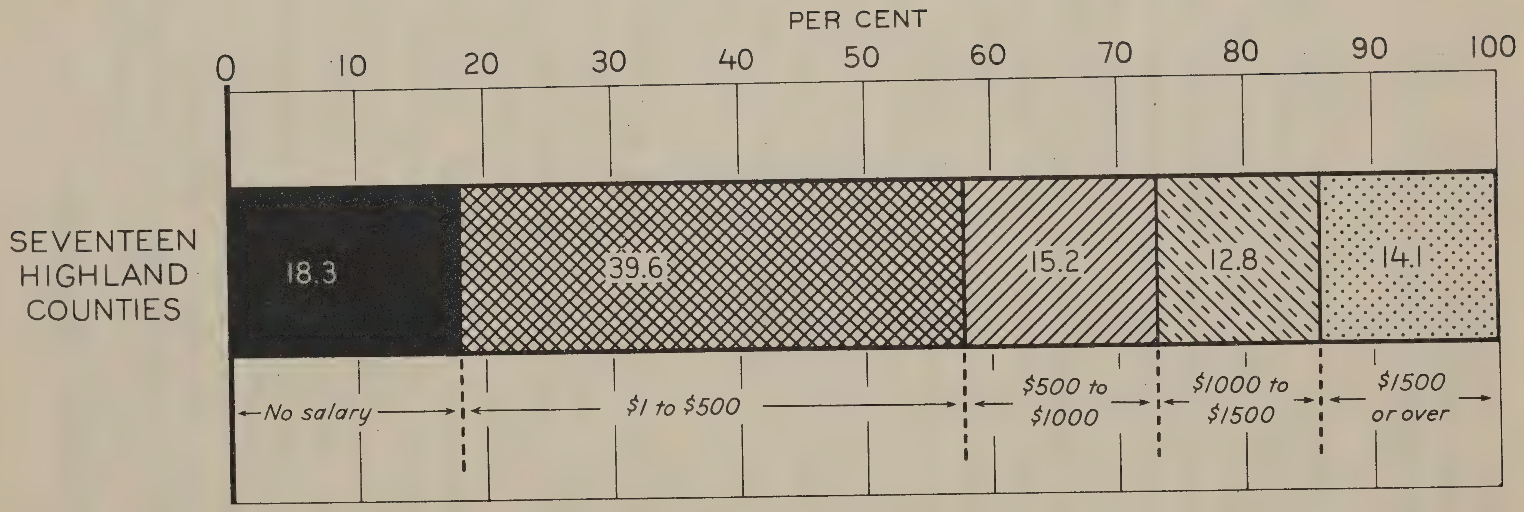

Diagram XI - Distribution of 376 Ministers in Seventeen Highland Counties according to Range in Amount of Compensation still more imperative condition is intensity of emotional appeal. The preacher must be able to make the sinner tremble and to bring tears to the eyes of old and young. Above all, he must have a vivid sense of spiritual realities and be able to make the audience share his vision of the unseen. All these characteristics, in varying degree, are exhibited by most of the preachers of the Highlands.

The great majority of the Highland preachers are sober and earnest men who take their profession very seriously. They believe they personally have been called of God to the ministry, and that in their sermons they are the vehicles of inspiration. This conviction of a divine commission is very frequently expressed in their sermons. In their efforts to convert sinners they show intense earnestness, expressed by one of them in these words: "I want to live in this world on my knees praying for lost souls. I am hungry to see souls saved."

Such attitudes as these belong to men of high nobility; and they find expression in manners and speech of dignity and impressiveness.

Religious Concepts: Among the religious inheritances that the preachers share with their fellow Highlanders are certain deeply-rooted conceptions which affect their professional outlook and procedure. Mention has already been made of the scruples felt by many preachers in regard to taking pay for their ministerial work. Certain traditional theological doctrines, puzzling, as has been shown, to the Highlanders in general, form troublesome stumbling blocks for many of the younger preachers. Among these is the belief or half-belief in predestination. "Formerly I could not preach 'Whosoever will'," reported a young minister who had attended a summer conference, which suggests the confused struggles of these earnest but untrained minds with a traditional concept that has been built into the cells of their brains. Problems connected with the paradox of free will versus an overruling providence seem to trouble them more than anything else. Is salvation open to every man? If so, is the time for conversion within the power of choice? If a man is once converted, can he fall away from grace? These questions, debated ever since the Reformation, are still vital and troublesome issues for many Highland preachers.

In puzzling over these problems, and in their mental processes generally, the preachers, like the rest of the Highland people, constantly quote the Bible, using it as the great source of truth. Reference is made in sermon after sermon to certain favorite Biblical passages, as, for example: the chapter in Job beginning, "Man that is born of a woman is of few days and full of trouble," which contains several passages on death and the future destiny of man; the passage in Ezekiel on the valley of dead men's bones; the parable of the rich man and Lazarus; the account of the last judgment.

The preachers, consciously or unconsciously, sometimes misinterpret Bible language. When preaching on the passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews, "For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened,....if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance," a primitive preacher said, "Let us look at that little verb _if_. It is in the impossible mood and the everlasting tense." Sometimes a preacher will quote a phrase apart from its context, making it seem to say the opposite of what was intended. For instance, a sermon had for its text the clause, "Continue in sin that grace may abound," as if this were the whole sentence. With its context the passage reads, "Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound? God forbid." Some preachers defend such perversions of Scripture by saying that they are led to make them by the Holy Spirit.

The belief of the Highland preachers, particularly those with the least education, that they are inspired when preaching, is frequently expressed. Some reference to this belief is almost invariably contained in the sermons by preachers of primitive denominations. Such a preacher will sometimes turn the pages of a Bible for several minutes, seeking the passage upon which it is the divine will that he shall speak. Or a preacher will say, "I intended to preach on a certain text this morning, but God said, 'Not so,' and gave me another instead."

Sermons: The hope of being the mouthpiece of inspiration governs the whole manner of these "mountain preachers," as they are popularly called; and there are still many of them, especially in the two most isolated sections of the Highlands. Hence they take their place upon the preachers' stand without any definite preparation, relying upon the inspiration of the moment.

The opening words of the sermons are frequently hesitant and experimental. Several topics may be tried and abandoned. Presently a course is taken; the delivery falls into the rhythmic cadence; and the sermon goes steadily forward. The ideas presented concern in the main those great traditional themes that preoccupy all minds in the Highlands, such as omnipotence, sin, death and judgment, conversion, baptism and the resurrection. The Bible is quoted at frequent intervals, and biblical language colors the whole style of the discourse. The plan of many sermons is to give one after another the stories of the early part of the Old Testament.

But there are frequent leaps from one topic to another associated theme, so that in many cases the sermon is preached literally from a text, that is, away from it. The material presented nearly always contains autobiographical matter. The preacher's conversion is vividly described. A reference is made to his dead mother in heaven, or perhaps to his departed wife or children. A dream he has had is related at length. Practically every sermon, moreover, contains exhortations to repentance. Such charges may be scattered through the sermon where the context suggests them, and are almost invariably presented at the close in the most solemn terms.

The total effect of many of the sermons by the old-time mountain preachers is very impressive. The listener feels that here are conceptions, phrases and cadences that have been passed on from earnest exhorter to plastic boy mind, and from the boy grown into a preacher to another youthful successor, for generation after generation. Days long past are suggested by such sayings as: "We are living at His mercy. If He should withdraw His hand for a single moment. we should be with the pale nations of the dead."

In many respects the sermons of the mountain preachers are paralleled by those of other preachers in the Highlands. The Bible is almost invariably the source of the ideas and illustrations, and the standard of belief and of conduct. Theological doctrines are given a prominent place. The importance of immersion is emphasized in the sermons by preachers of the denominations that practise it, especially by the Baptists. Favorite dogmas are the fall of man, redemption, falling from grace, and especially predestination. The doctrine of holiness is emphasized by perfectionist preachers, and is condemned by preachers of contrary beliefs. In all the doctrinal preaching the tone is combative, showing a purpose to convince the audience that the speaker is right and that those holding contrary opinions are wrong.

Conversion being the primary aim of the preachers, evangelistic appeals very frequently form a part of the sermon. In ninety-four sermons heard by field workers formal invitations to seek salvation then and there were presented in just half the cases, and were implied in eleven others.

The ethical content of the preaching is smaller and less definite than the doctrinal element. In the sermons heard there were 108 references to sin or sins, only twenty sermons failing to mention wrong-doing in some way. In eighteen cases the references to sin were vague and general, condemning "sin," "law-breaking," "worldliness" and the like. The largest group of references, twenty-five, concerned unbelief or erroneous belief. Seventeen references were to ceremonial sins, such as Sabbath-breaking and indifference to the church. Seven were to forms of recreation considered questionable, such as dancing and card-playing. Ten concerned actions or attitudes that affected primarily the individual himself, among them being pride and the neglect of means of growth. Twenty-four concerned kinds of conduct hurtful to others, including lying and stealing, and nine others had reference to unkind attitudes toward others, for example, selfishness, distrust and lack of sympathy. There were only a very few references to the flagrant sins of the flesh, but when mentioned these were frankly named.

Similar tendencies appear in references to virtue or virtues, of which the sermons observed contained 110. Seventeen sermons urged "doing right" in general terms. Twenty-two upheld belief or faith, and nineteen commended ceremonial acts and attitudes. Twenty-one endorsed personal qualities chiefly affecting the possessor. Only thirty-one consisted of attitudes or actions contributing to the well-being of others.

As a whole, the ethical teaching of the sermons had several distinct tendencies. It was frequently very vague and general, thus rather reinforcing traditional sanctions than throwing light on the nature and effects of specific forms of moral conduct. Indeed, preaching of the latter kind is neither expected nor desired by the people, even in the larger places. Their attitude is well illustrated by an episode that occurred in a county-seat church. A new minister learned that three of his leading laymen, two of whom were teachers of young women's classes, were leading conspicuously evil lives. Two had double household relationships, and the third indulged in frequent debauches. The minister preached on the sins involved. The church people were highly indignant, and said, "We do not pay you to tell us how to live; we pay you to preach the Bible." The young man had to go. Again, problems of conduct arising out of the changing conditions of the environment are practically never discussed in the pulpit. Almost the only recorded violation of this custom in the sermons heard was a condemnation of birth control.

In the second place, the preachers treated faith and unbelief, whether in God or in theological doctrines, as moral attitudes, and spent a good deal of time in exhorting to faith and in condemning unbelief. They also laid great stress on ceremonial attitudes and conduct.

Again, they were preoccupied with faults and virtues that chiefly concern the individual himself. The primary aim with them was the salvation and development of individuals rather than the well-being of society. The social sins and virtues, through which a man's actions affect the well-being of his fellows, received a comparatively small share of their attention.

Among the motives appealed to in the sermons fear was prominent, and especially fear of death and of punishment after death. Another frequent motive was the hope of reward in heaven. Abstract principles such as the love of justice and the sense of right were also frequently invoked. So, too, were the love of home and relatives. The personal joys of Christian experience were held up as desirable ends in a considerable number of sermons. Appeals to humanitarian aims formed only about one-sixth of the total number of appeals to motives recorded. In short, the use of appeals to motives shows several of the same tendencies illustrated by the use of the virtues and vices: a centering of interest on a future life, emphasis on the experience of the individual, and a general tendency to emotionalism.

The sermons are usually long. Of ninety-eight sermons timed by the investigators the average length was forty minutes. Well over a fourth of the sermons lasted at least three-quarters of an hour, and one in six occupied an hour or more. Most of these longer sermons were heard in the Appalachian Plateaus. By the uneducated preachers, length of sermon is considered a test of ability. A typical mountain preacher, after listening to a sermon by an educated minister, said, "You have been to school for years and you can only preach thirty minutes. Us preachers can keep it up for two hours without any learning at all."

Sermons more like those familiar in other rural areas of the United States are preached by some ministers. The most prominent of these men, however, are either home missionaries or the pastors of self-supporting churches in the larger county-seats. The ministers of centralized denominations requiring courses of reading or other training naturally preach more conventional sermons than do those of congregational bodies, especially such as are small and primitive. In sections where churches of centralized denominations predominate, therefore, the distinctive features of the preaching described are found much less generally.

Number of Preachers: There are more than 5,000 preachers regularly connected with the churches of the Highlands.* Among the preachers of white churches, of whom there are estimated to be 4,267, about five-eighths represent denominations of congregational polity, and three-eighths, denominations of centralized polity. The single denomination represented by the most preachers is the Southern Baptist Convention, with 1,348 preachers regularly connected with churches in the 170 counties entirely within the Highlands. This figure constitutes more than three-tenths of the total number of white preachers in that area.

*The average number of churches per minister in the seventeen counties surveyed was calculated for certain denominations and groups of denominations. This ratio was then applied to the total number of churches of the same denominations or groups of denominations, as reported by the Census of Religious Bodies: 1926 for the 170 counties entirely within the Highlands. The total number of preachers thus obtained was 5,018. This figure is considerably below the actual number of preachers. For one thing, it does not include the preachers serving the churches in the Highland part of the sixty-six border counties. Estimating the number of Highland churches in these counties at one-third the total number reported, and the number of churches per preacher at 2.9, the average ratio for all denominations combined in the seventeen counties surveyed, the number of preachers in the edge of the Highlands, outside the 170 counties, would be 2,070. Again, the 5,018 does not include all the preachers of primitive sects, for two reasons; not all the churches of these denominations are included in the figures of the Religious Census; and the assistant moderators serving many churches of this group were not taken into consideration because of the risk of duplication.

Moreover, in addition to the preachers serving specific churches, there are many others. Some preach occasionally; others serve unorganized groups of perfectionists; many are evangelists who go about holding revivals. A conservative estimate for all the preachers in the Highlands would be 7,500.

The sermons of these preachers are liked by the people. Audiences are often large, attention is good, and points contained in the discourse are remembered and talked over afterwards. The choice of preacher is one of the main concerns of the leading men of the churches, and rival candidates are frequently proposed. Sometimes one faction wants an old-time preacher while the other group prefers a man with some education. Under such circumstances the complaint is made, "He haint eddicated, and we've had him seven years. He can't give us no illumination." But on the whole the people speak highly of their preachers, and are conscious of profiting from their sermons.

Church Houses

Church buildings, when present, are in the main the simple structures of pioneer days. In the counties studied one church in nine had no building at all, but used some other place of meeting, generally a schoolhouse. A large majority of these churches without edifices were found in the Appalachian Plateaus. Four church buildings out of five had but a single room. The proportionate distribution of the churches according to building is shown in Diagram XII. Not much more than half the church edifices were in good condition. In many cases window panes were missing, shingles were loose, paint was shabby, and the building was in general need of repair. The church houses are almost all strictly utilitarian, providing a roof and walls for shelter, a wood stove in the middle for warmth, benches for seating the audience and a platform with a plain pulpit and another bench to accommodate the preacher or preachers. If the boards that ceil most of the church houses are painted at all, they are colored drab or gray. Benches have been hacked by the jack knives of restless boys. The floor has sometimes been swept, but not so as to remove the yellow or red mud of the district. A general tendency is suggested by a sign in one church building, "Do not spit on the floor of this church house." Everything indicates that the church building is regarded not as a sanctuary but merely as a convenient place of meeting.

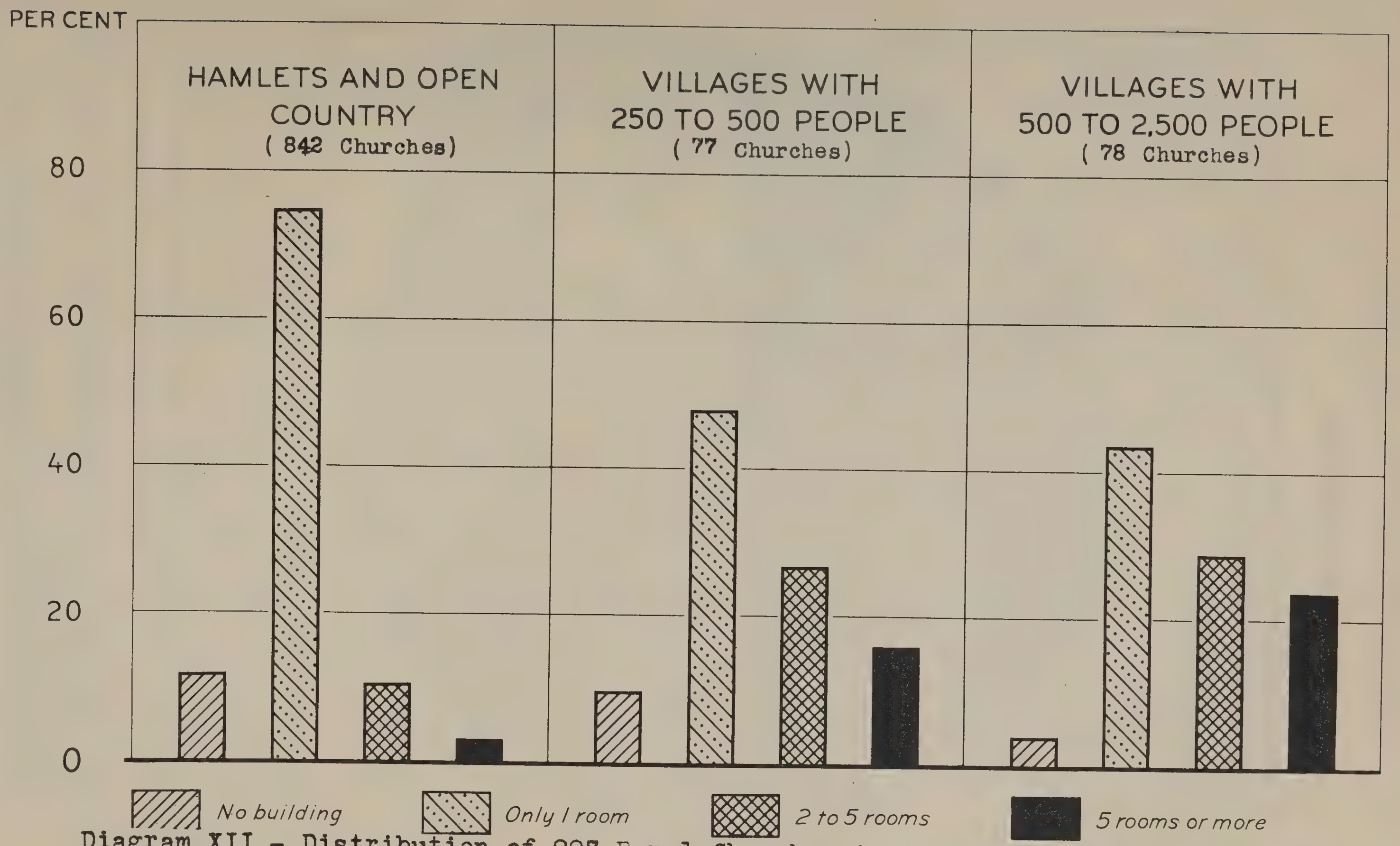

Diagram XII - Distribution of 997 Rural Churches in Seventeen Highland Counties according to Presence of Church Building and Number of Rooms

Expenditures

Church expenditures are comparatively low, primarily because of ancestral deprivation exalted into a traditional principle, and to a lesser degree on account of present-day poverty. The average annual expenditures for the churches of the counties surveyed, including all kinds of communities, were $280. For the open-country churches the average was only $141. These figures are far below the average for rural churches in the states containing Highland territory. The average for all these states combined was $804, and the averages by states ranged from $566 to $1,055.*

The expenditures of many churches fell below even the low general average. Nearly half the churches, and more than half the country churches, expended in the year less than $100. About one church in ten spent less than $25; and a proportion practically the same had no expenditures at all. The distribution of the churches according to amount of annual expenditure is shown in Diagram XIII. The total expenditures on local church program ranged from twelve cents per inhabitant for the county having the most churches of primitive denominations, to $2.07 for a Blue Ridge county with a prosperous valley section.

The amount expended annually per resident member was also comparatively small. The Highland churches as a group spent $4.80 a year per member, in contrast to $10.35 for the country churches alone of twenty-one nationally representative counties surveyed by the Institute of Social and Religious Research.**

The proportion of the expenditures devoted to missions and other benevolences was 15.2 per cent. The proportions for four of the seventeen counties fell below 10 per cent.; and those of only two counties reached the national average of 20 per cent.*** The comparatively low proportions are a natural result of the widespread leaven of Anti-missionary sentiment.

*Data from Census of Religious Bodies: 1926, Vol.I, Table 21.

**Rural Social Trends, p. 231.

***Data from C.L.Fry, The U.S.Looks at Its Churches, p.91.

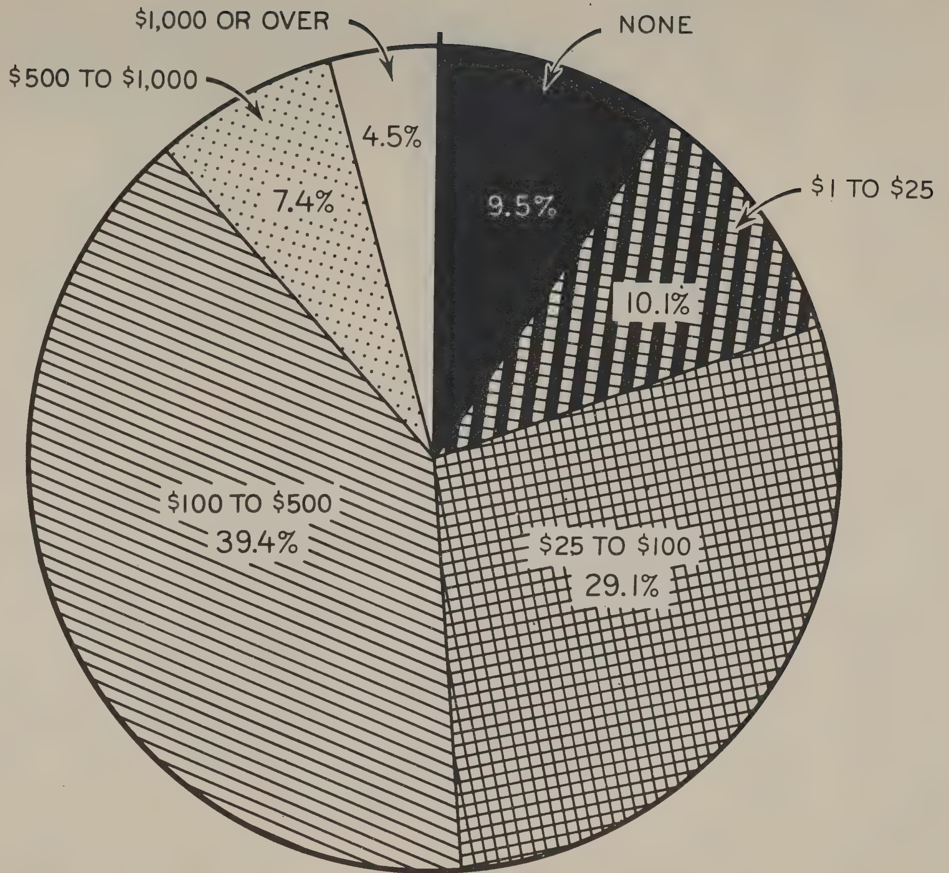

Diagram XIII - Distribution of 984 Rural Churches in Seventeen Highland Counties according to Range of Total Annual Expenditures

THE GENERAL CHURCH SITUATION

Program

The program of the Highland churches consists almost entirely of preaching services, Sunday schools, a few prayer meetings, annual protracted meetings, and for a small proportion of churches societies for women and for young people. A few words will serve to characterize each of the principal forms of religious work.

Sundays with preaching services come not oftener than once a month for two-thirds of all the churches, and for three-fourths of the country churches. Less than one-fourth of all the churches and only one-fifth of the country churches have such services twice a month. Only one church in twelve has preaching every week, and such churches are for the most part in the centers. The distribution of country churches according to the number of Sundays per month on which they hold preaching services is presented in Diagram XIV. Many churches have services on the Saturday also. The services are usually very plain, with no formal order of exercises and no musical instrument, and usually with prayers by laymen.

Sunday Schools: Second only to the preaching services in the extent of their distribution are Sunday schools. In all sections except the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, where they are comparatively few, Sunday schools are very prevalent. Of virtually 1,000 rural churches in the seventeen representative counties, five-sixths had Sunday schools. In addition, there were many Sunday schools in neighborhoods not having churches. In all there were in the counties surveyed over 900 Sunday schools, that is, 119 per 1,000 square miles, and four for each 1,000 inhabitants. These schools are not meant for children only but include whole families, two out of five persons enrolled being over school age. Taking into account the fact that four-fifths of the schools are in the open country, the size is larger than might be expected. The average enrollment is seventy-eight and the average attendance is forty-six. Not all of these schools are evergreen, since for many neighborhoods the state of the roads in winter and spring renders it difficult to come together for months on end.

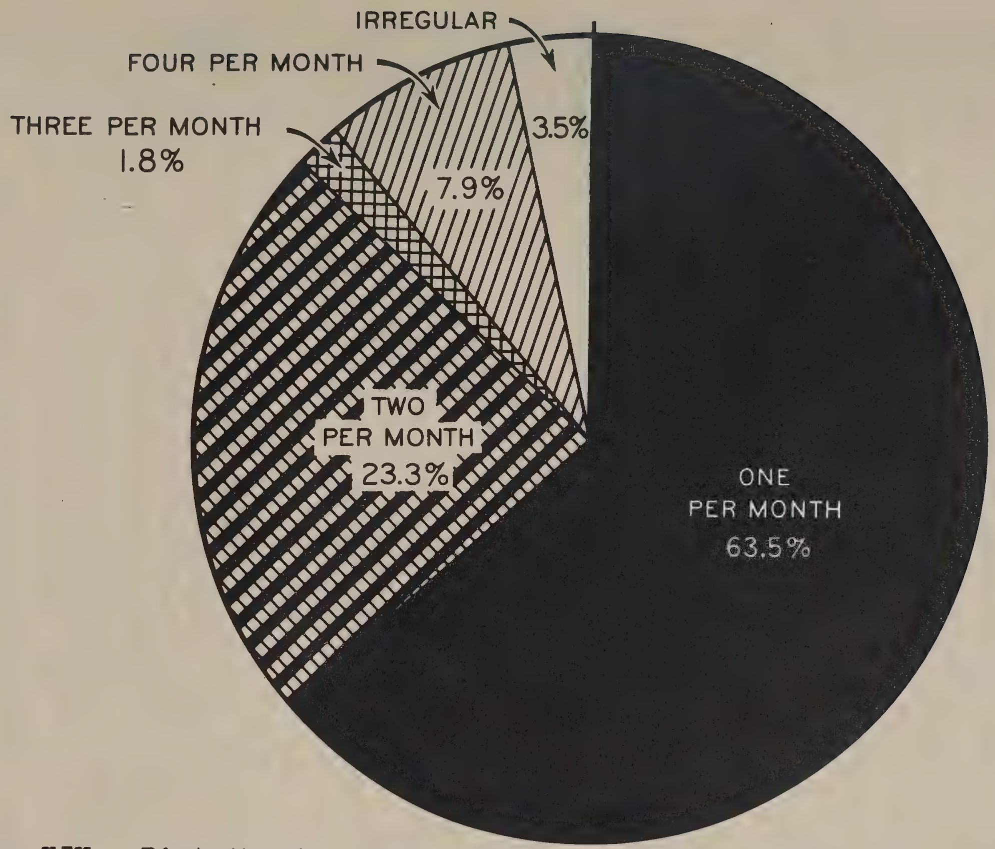

Diagram XIV - Distribution of 997 Rural Churches in Seventeen Highland Counties according to the Number of Sundays per Month on Which They Held Preaching Services. 1931

As a rule, though the teachers seem earnest and faithful and the atmosphere friendly, the teaching in most classes for children and young people is confined largely to reading verses around, asking the questions printed in the quarterly, and, in the beginners' classes, having the children memorize the golden text.

Certain conservative denominations retain a principle against the use of lesson helps, a heritage from days when such things did not exist; and some schools of other denominations have factions objecting to the use of such literature. In some cases feeling has become so intense as to split the church. It is not uncommon to see the adult classes studying from the Bible while younger groups use quarterlies. Other schools use the Bible for all except the beginners, who have cards. The cost of Sunday school literature doubtless enters into the matter.

The question inevitably occurs, What effects have such Sunday schools, that people here should so generally desire them and work for them? Certainly it cannot be claimed that the attendants acquire a large amount of the scriptural history or of the principles of conduct contained in the particular Bible passages forming the subjects of the lessons. Nor do the young people, at any rate, get much practice in individual thought and discussion on ethical problems. On the other hand, the mere coming together, in cleaner clothes, the men with shaved faces, under the leadership of the religious leaders of the community, has its evident values, such as the promotion of self-respect and of an embryo sense of community, the friendly service of teachers to children, and occasions for religious leadership. Besides, the young people are brought into contact, however ineffectively, with the great ethical and religious literature of the Bible, which at some later day may possibly produce its own results. And, finally, the regular weekly meeting in the name of religion, which would not be held were it not for the Sunday school, keeps alive and potent the whole traditional complex of standards and sanctions in the fields of religion and conduct.

Other Subsidiary Organizations: Church societies other than Sunday schools are connected with comparatively few churches. Seven churches out of ten of the churches surveyed, if they had any auxiliary organization, had a Sunday school only. Less than one church in six had a woman's society, whereas in twenty-one nationally representative counties the proportion was 65.0 per cent.* The proportion of Highland churches with young people's societies was 21 per cent., while that for the twenty-one counties was 45.2 per cent * The comparative proportions for both types of societies and for Sunday schools as well, are shown in Diagram XV. Only one church in nine had a society for children; and brotherhoods for men were almost entirely lacking. Only one church in eight had more than one society in addition to a Sunday school, most churches with several such auxiliaries being in centers.

Protracted Meetings: Far more important in the church program than Sunday schools and church societies, in the eyes of the church people of the Highlands, is the protracted meeting. Except for the primitive denominations and some weak churches of other sects, it is considered imperative to hold such a series of meetings at least once a year. In the year preceding the survey more than two-thirds of the churches participated in at least one such series of meetings. The "big meetin'" is the great event of the year. Young people away at work plan to take their vacations at that time. Old residents come back, and visiting relatives swell the size of many families.

Meetings are held both morning and evening for a week, ten days, two weeks, three or, in rare instances, four weeks. Attendance is large, averages of 200 or even 300 not being rare for the evening service. If finances permit, an evangelist is engaged; if not, the regular preacher leaves his farming or other work and comes to stay for the period of the meetings.

The great importance ascribed to revivals in the Highlands grows out of the following conditions. First, since the traditional conceptions of theology and of religious psychology involve a sudden, volcanic emo-

*Rural Social Trends, Appendix Table 61.

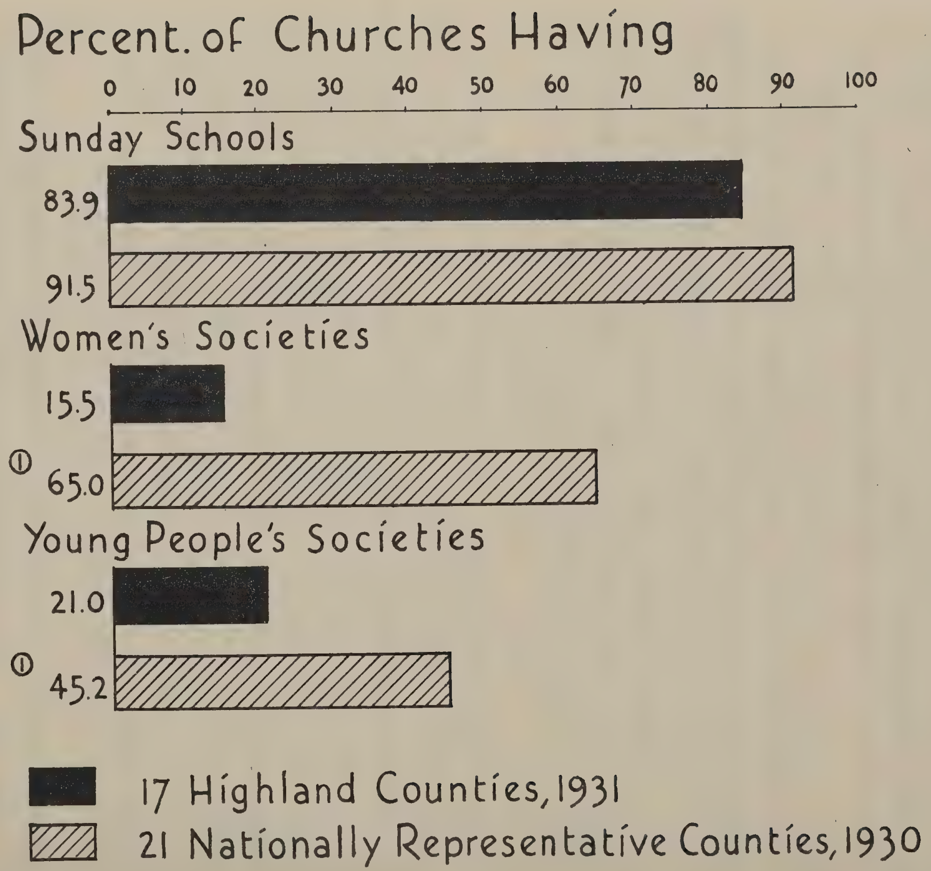

Diagram XV - Proportion of Rural Churches Having Certain Kinds of Subsidiary Organizations for 17 Highland Counties, and for 21 Nationally Representative Counties, 1930 tional experience, such a conversion is generally desired. Many suppose sudden conversion at a revival service to be the only possible entrance into the Christian life. For example, a young girl was asked by her pastor, who was not a Highlander and did not hold revivals, if she would not join the church. She evidently desired to do so but did not feel prepared. "When the Rock Springs church has its revival next summer," she promised, "I will go and be converted." A woman teacher, when approached regarding church membership, replied, "But I have never been converted!" She had not experienced the emotional crisis, and did not believe that without "praying it through" to an ecstatic conversion she could "get religion" at all. In most cases the expectation of being converted, through suggestion, tends to induce the experience.

Another circumstance that is behind the emotional revival is the bare, repressed, monotonous lives led by the people during the rest of the year. Poverty, isolation, and the lack of books, plays and other sources of intellectual and social recreation, render their lives singularly colorless. Many kinds of diversion they consider sinful. When the opportunity comes to let themselves go in a tide of religious emotion they surrender themselves to it. Some observers believe that, considering the entire situation, the revival is a wholesome sort of inner crisis, loosening inhibitions, unifying the consciousness, and preparing for a new start.

In the third place, the revival is adapted to the church program. Most of the year the churches have as a rule a monthly sermon from a non-resident minister, with a Sunday school taught largely by volunteers, who are at best only partly trained. An effective program of religious education seems impracticable. But it is possible once a year to have services twice a day for ten or fifteen days.*

*For a description of a revival service, see Chapter III. This meeting, however, being held in the Alleghany Plateau, where centralized denominations predominate, exhibited fewer of the old customs and had a more restrained emotional atmosphere than typical revivals in the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau and in parts of the Blue Ridge.

The protracted meetings are the great means used for enlisting new members. In the counties surveyed taken together, seven out of ten new members were received in connection with such occasions. The proportion was highest in the Alleghany Plateau, where it was 95.2 per cent.; it was next highest, 80.9 per cent., in the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau; and third highest, 69.9 per cent., in the Blue Ridge. In other words, it was comparatively high in all the most isolated sections except the one having the largest number of primitive churches.

Three out of five of the members received at the time of the protracted meetings were under twenty-one years of age. Some of the recruits at revivals have been intending to be converted and have waited for this authorized occasion with its contagious impulses to sweep them into the kingdom. Others are susceptible persons who are carried off their feet by the hypnotic influence of the crowd. Many of the latter class of individuals never come back to the church which they have so impulsively joined. On the other hand, not a few such persons go through an experience of conversion year after year.

The desirability of these excited seasons of revival is questioned by very few church leaders in the Highlands. They point to the large number of converts; and many life-long church members have unquestionably entered the Christian life at such seasons. They remind the questioner of the large number of non-church-going people who receive at the big meeting practically their only reminders of right living and of final judgment. They say that many persons already converted find the revivals a helpful means of confessing sins and leaving them behind in a fresh start. Outsiders add that repressed personalities, who live most of the year a drab life of barren routine and isolation, find in the religious excitement and in the suggestion of epic values in human existence, an outlet for their pent-up emotions.

Nevertheless, the revivals have their acknowledged disadvantages. The dependence on these occasions for new members tends to minimize the importance of patient work in religious education and character-building. The revivals foster the conception of religious experience as a cataclysm rather than as a slow climb upward. The inevitable backsliders occasion some scoffing against religion and the churches. And the total effect on churches and community alike seems hard to identify. On the very next Sunday after the close of a revival there is likely to be a very small attendance at Sunday school. Communities that have had revivals annually for at least forty years were stated by a denominational officer long familiar with the Highlands not to have changed in the slightest respect.

Functions of the Churches

Among the functions performed by the churches of the Highlands the most obvious is to afford occasions for social contact. The log-rollings, corn-huskings, square dances and the like, popular in former days, are largely a thing of the past. And though in very recent years home demonstration groups and parent-teacher associations have been started, these are still rare outside the villages. Pleasure unmixed and undisguised is distrusted in the Highlands, partly on account of long-past historical circumstances. To enable them to gratify human social cravings with a good conscience the Highlanders require religious sanctions. Even their singing schools are professedly designed to improve the singing at preaching services; and the books used in practice are always hymnbooks. The singing conventions, too, bring together the singing classes of a considerable district for a long Sunday of sacred vocal music.

Church gatherings with social features are of a number of different types. Among Baptist churches, especially in the Blue Ridge section, the Fifth Sunday, coming about once in three months, is frequently the occasion for neighboring churches to meet together, the women of the hostess church sometimes providing an outdoor feast for all comers. Certain other denominations have circuit meetings, one of which was described in the preceding chapter. Even the most primitive denominations have their foot-washings, and their so-called "union" meetings, which call together the churches of the denomination that are within reach.

Single churches sometimes celebrate a home-coming day, attended not only by former members but by many neighbors of whatever denomination. Protracted meetings are also opportunities for wider social intercourse. Funerals are especially popular as occasions for all friends and acquaintances of the bereaved family to come together.

These ostensibly religious gatherings form pretexts for assemblage and conversation not only for the members, but for the whole countryside. Far more people come to the vicinity of the church than mean to attend the services, more than could possibly find standing room inside the church house. Many stand outside and gossip, the noise they make often being audible inside during the religious exercises. The rear seats are frequently occupied by young couples. In the almost complete absence of occasions for social contact and recreation, this social function of the churches of the Highlands is an important one.

All these social activities aid the churches to fulfill their universal task of keeping alive religious sentiment, and with it the traditional code of conduct which it sanctions. The most striking means by which moral standards are impressed on church members and on the community in general is the power of expelling members from the church, or as it is more commonly expressed in the Highlands, "withdrawing from them." A common reason for expulsion is lack of strict denominational loyalty, as in case of the following entries on a church roll:

"For going to Holiness meetings and speaking with tongues."

"For joining the Regulars."

"For alien baptism" (i.e. baptism by a minister not of the denomination represented by the church).

"Took fellowship with Missionary" (i.e. Missionary Baptists).

The first reason for expulsion on this list, attending Holiness meetings, is one very commonly acted upon. Church members professing reconversion are baptised into their new faith without formally withdrawing from their original church, which thereupon drops them from the roll.

The power of exclusion is also frequently exercised when members are believed to have done wrong. Such offenses inscribed on church rolls include drunkenness, fighting, murder, adultery, and cursing the church. In most sections a member known to be a moonshiner or bootlegger is expelled from membership; but in some districts such actions are not considered incompatible with church membership. Other reasons for exclusion sometimes applied are "going back into the world," with drinking and swearing. The power of the church to discipline and remove its members serves as an influence against overt sins. On the other hand, ministers reported that charges are frequently made by a member or group of members against another, merely out of jealousy, rivalry or hatred.

Still another function of the churches is to afford opportunities for leadership and self-expression. Such openings are the offices of the church and Sunday school and of other subsidiary agencies when present, the teaching of Sunday school classes, and the calls upon public men for speeches and prayers.

The task of providing religious education is undertaken through the numerous Sunday schools. That in many cases the most marked effects of these Sunday schools are incidental rather than the direct effects of instruction has been shown earlier in the chapter.

The function of the churches that the church leaders would put first would be winning converts from the rest of the population and incidentally keeping alive religious sentiments among the church members. In this field the churches contribute to the inward happiness of individuals by imparting a sense of the dignity of human life, restoring self-confidence, and instilling peace, resignation and hope.

THE GENERAL CHURCH SITUATION

Tests of Effectiveness

Some idea of the proportions of the Highlanders that are actually enlisted by the churches may be gained by a few figures obtained through the survey of the seventeen representative counties. In these counties resident members of the churches constituted less than a quarter, 23.4 per cent., of the population, a comparatively low proportion.* For six of the counties the proportion was less than one-fifth. For the larger villages the proportion of the population enrolled in the churches was somewhat higher, being 31.1 per cent. For the open country, where the great majority of the people live, it was only 22.5 per cent.

The total average attendance at regular preaching services including both those in connection with churches and those at preaching points, was 28.0 per cent. of the population. Evidently somewhat more people attend the services of the churches than are enrolled in the membership.

Total Sunday school enrollment constitutes three-tenths, 30.8 per cent., of the population. But since whole families go to the Sunday schools, large numbers of other families are not represented in them. Average attendance at Sunday school is not much over one-sixth of the population, 17.8 per cent. Of the children of school age, as many as one-half were enrolled in the Sunday school of only six counties.**

Obviously large proportions of the people neither belong to the churches and Sunday schools nor attend them. Yet these institutions are generally respected. Almost everybody goes sometimes to church revivals and decorations. In some sections it was reported that there was hardly an individual that had not professed conversion at some revival or other. The conceptions of sin, duty, the Bible, heaven and hell, that are taught by the preachers are believed to be true by practically everybody.

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*For the rural territory in the United States the ratio of total church membership (including non-resident members), to population in 1926 was 47.8 per cent. Hinterlands of the Church, by Elizabeth R. Hooker, (New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1931), p.218. The ratio of total church membership to population in 1931 for the seventeen counties was 32.2 per cent.

**This last figure could be calculated for only thirteen counties, since for four of the seventeen urban or valley sections were omitted, whereas school population figures are for entire counties.

Trends

The proportion of the people in the membership of the churches has risen since 1906, the number of church members having increased faster than the population. For the region as a whole, in 1906 it was 30.4 per cent.; in 1916 it was 33.0 per cent.; and in 1926 it had become 36.7 per cent.* Ratios for the separate counties rose more than 10 per cent. in over seven-tenths of the cases, and fell more than 10 per cent. in less than 5 per cent. of the cases.

Denominational leaders in several districts manifested some concern about the future supply of ministers, saying that there were fewer calls to the ministry than in former years, and that a large proportion of the preachers were old. This is doubtless true of the primitive denominations, and of other denominations in a few districts. On the whole, however, nearly twice as many preachers had been in the ministry less than ten years as had served twenty years or more. Though the old-time preachers, with their peculiar cadence in preaching, were dying out except in the more isolated sections, in general the toiler preacher, speaking with fervor from the level of the people, still afforded popular and vital leadership to the great majority of churches, and appeared likely to continue to do so.

*These percentages were obtained by relating the total number of church members, as reported by counties by the three latest issues of the Religious Census, for the 170 counties entirely within the Highlands, to the population of these counties for the same years, estimated in each case by averaging the census populations of the preceding and of the following decade.

Unsolved Problems

Most religious leaders of the Highlands would readily admit that the churches have many unsolved problems. To begin with, they begin to realize that the equipment is inadequate and the financial resources insufficient. The resulting poverty of the churches limits their activities in every direction.

Secondly, it is coming to be acknowledged that the great majority of the preachers, though devoted and deeply religious, are handicapped by their lack of education. Although a minority do not regard their ignorance as a drawback, many of the younger preachers appreciate their need of knowledge and of culture, and are burdened by a sense of inferiority on account of their deficiencies. The churches therefore suffer from the defects of their natural leaders.

A third problem, very prominent in the minds of the church people throughout the Highlands, concerns the effect on the religious situation of perfectionist preaching. Laymen and preachers alike were greatly exercised over the members lost from the churches to Holiness groups, the decline in interest in average services, the discrediting of religion among non-Christians, and the general dearth of religious sentiment, which episodes of perfectionist excitement often leave behind. What to do about these so-called "Holy Roller" phenomena is one of the great unsettled questions of the churches and their preachers.

A group of new problems that are beginning to arouse anxiety have arisen from recent changes in the environment. One of these is the inadequate religious ministry afforded the mining camps in the Appalachian plateaus. Still another consists of the many new interests which, in sections where good roads have been constructed, compete with church meetings for the attention of the people. A third is the difficulty in holding to the churches young people who have been to high school.

In addition to these recognized problems there are others for which the churches have not as yet generally accepted responsibility, but about which some denominational leaders are seriously concerned. One such problem consists of certain popular ethical attitudes. Among these is the individualism of the Highlanders, which results in sharp bargaining, in disregard for law, in moonshining and bootlegging, in feuds and other forms of violence, and in political corruption. The indigenous churches, say the leaders in question, cannot bring up ethical standards on such points as these because the church people, often including the preachers, share the attitudes toward them of the other inhabitants of their communities.

Another class of problems the church people are accused of failing to recognize because their thoughts and efforts are directed to another world to the exclusion of the environment in which they are actually living. A conception of the functions of the church which should include the salvation of society as well as that of the individual would add a whole group of new objectives to the church program. Among the unfortunate conditions crying for cooperative action those most frequently cited are the following:

The inadequate economic basis of life in the Highlands, with the use of old-fashioned methods in farming, and the critical situation of unemployed miners.

The prevalence of unhygienic conditions and of disease.

The inadequate provisions for social contact and for wholesome recreation.

The almost complete lack of means of intellectual activity and development for the Highlanders, such as books, magazines, plays, good moving-pictures, concerts, clubs, radio.

The inferior position of women.

A final task, considered today by the members and preachers of indigenous churches, if considered at all, rather as a temptation than as a duty, is the adjustment of religious conceptions to new scientific knowledge. The people of the long-secluded Highlands, in their attitude toward science, stand today where the churches of the northern United States and of European countries stood two generations ago. The churches of that earlier day, by fighting the new knowledge, lost from their ranks many of their educated and thoughtful members. * A similar tendency is beginning to appear in the less isolated sections of the Highlands.

Conclusion

In spite of the unsolved problems of the churches, some accepted and others not yet generally recognized, the Highlanders have a genuine religion, handed down through tradition during many generations, to which they are strongly attached. This religion is essentially the religion of pioneer America. Moreover, some of its distinctive conceptions were generally held by American Protestant churches up to forty or fifty years ago.

This religion makes the Highlanders keenly sensitive to the reality of spiritual things, the grandeur of human destiny and the importance of personal choice. Their churches afford opportunities for religious fellowship and self-expression. Their monthly preaching services and the annual protracted meetings form influences toward the resolution of inner conflicts, toward goodness, and toward peace of mind.

*What happened is well described in H.G.Wells' Outline of History, Chapter XXXVII, Section 6.

Chapter VII

CONDITIONS CONFRONTING HOME MISSIONARY AGENCIES

In the previous chapters, devoted to the situation of the native churches of the Highlands, the activities of missionary and philanthropic agencies have been noticed only so far as was essential to the general picture. These agencies operating from bases outside the region will be the subject of the remainder of the book. The present chapter will discuss the conditions, historical and contemporary, with which these agencies must reckon in conducting their work.

Missionary Influences in Early Days

The Highland missions are conditioned in part by their own history. The history of missions in the Highlands began in the very earliest days of settlement. In colonial times various religious organizations in England and on the Continent sent missionaries to America; and emissaries from several of these European agencies had a share in planting churches in Highland territory. Their work was supplemented and continued by denominational bodies on this side of the water. The earliest form of missionary activity in behalf of the Highlands consisted of the sending of ministers on preaching tours among the frontier settlements. These travelling missionaries are known to have included many Presbyterians, some of whom had come from Scotland or Ireland; several Moravians; and representatives of the Mennonites and of the Reformed Church in Holland. Asbury, too, sent by Wesley from London to America in 1771, soon covered a large part of the Highlands in the vast territory over which he traveled each year. These missionaries, as they journeyed, preached wherever they found opportunity, especially to congregations of their own faith; and they organized churches and baptized or confirmed candidates. For many young settlements they afforded almost the sole religious privileges of the year; and they laid the foundations for the religious institutions of the future.

The denominational bodies of the older colonies also exercised some oversight over the religious welfare of the sections of the frontier in other ways. For example, when Presbyterian colonists desired to settle in the Great Valley, the Anglican Church being established in Virginia, the Synod of Pennsylvania sent two messengers to Governor Gooch, requesting that such settlers might have religious liberty, which was assured them on certain conditions.

When the churches on the frontier became stronger, they frequently applied for ministers to the denominational bodies of the older sections; and many ministers, both from European countries and from the longer settled colonies, were thus introduced to their fields. Very early, too, traveling missionaries began to concern themselves with ministerial support. Of one of the first Presbyterian missionaries it is recorded that he was interested in a fund for destitute ministers; and another is reported to have taken up "voluntary collections for preachers of the gospel."

Denominational Academies

The earliest schools, moreover, were frequently under denominational auspices. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians held education in high esteem. Among the Presbyterian settlers were many schoolmasters; and the Scotch-Irish settlements speedily established their own schools. Many of the German settlements, too, had parochial schools from very early days. It was common, moreover, for Presbyterian ministers to teach classical branches to boys intended for the learned professions; and Presbyterian divines started academies as early as 1776 in Virginia and 1788 in Tennessee. This example was followed by representatives of other denominations, so that the education of the children of families able and willing to pay for it early came to be in the hands of private schools the leadership and influence of which were strongly denominational. Many of these academies have had long periods of usefulness. Upon some of them were conferred bequests which in time became considerable endowments. Not a few of them grew into colleges, and two or three were taken over as state universities; but the great majority remained private schools with denominational leadership. This condition prevailed in the South in general. The old academies located in the Highlands were confined almost entirely to the Valley in Virginia and Tennessee.

Public Schools

In contrast to these private academies for the children of the well-to-do, the southern states, including their Highland sections, had very limited provision for the education of poor children.* For these the three R's, possibly with some industrial training, were considered sufficient. Beyond this the state was held to have no educational responsibility. This conception was fostered by the difficulty and expense of providing a public-school system in territory occupied by scattered plantations run with slave labor. The individualism of the South, moreover, both worked against entrusting broad educational powers to the state, and also resulted in an antipathy to taxes high enough to support a comprehensive public-school system.

For all these reasons the public schools of the South, even as late as the Civil War, were behind those in the northern states; and in the secluded and impoverished districts of the Highlands conditions were especially bad. Public schools were irregularly distributed, many communities having none at all. The school building was often a log cabin with no equipment except rough benches and a table for the teacher. The school term in most states lasted only three months. Discipline was harsh; the curriculum was extremely limited; and most of the teachers were incompetent.

Revival of Home Missionary Activities

For a long time the Highlanders, hidden away among their hills, were forgotten by the rest of the world. When they came to notice again, this was largely owing to anti-slavery idealism. Even as early as 1848, the American Missionary Association - founded in Boston two years before "for gathering and sustaining churches in heathen lands; from which the sins of caste, polygamy, slaveholding and the like shall be excluded"* - began to organize churches on this basis not in heathen lands but in Kentucky and other southern states; and in 1859 Berea College was founded not far from the edge of the Highlands. Though in the following year this and all other missions of the society were expelled from Kentucky and from North Carolina, Berea College was reopened immediately after the close of the Civil War.

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*The data regarding public schools presented in this chapter have been taken from E.W.Knight, Public Education in the South (Chapel Hill, N.C.; University of North Carolina Press, 1922).

A department of the work of the American Missionary Association much more extended in those days than work for whites consisted of schools for Negroes, interest in whom was aroused by the war. Beginning in 1861, the society conducted many such schools throughout the South, not only during the war but also in the years following it. About 1866 similar work was begun by the Methodist Episcopal Freedmen's Society; and other agencies also undertook a share in the education of the colored race.

Some years later the interest of northern church people in education in the South was extended also to schools for the white people of the Highlands. That the basis of this interest was rooted in post-war psychology is evident in the following passage from the president's address at the annual meeting of the National Teachers' Association in 1865:

"In all free states the public-school system prevailed, and in most was administered with great efficiency, giving a good education alike to the poor and the rich. ... How was it in the states where the institution of slavery prevailed? There was no common-school system. Exceptions there were in some of the cities....The children of a large portion of the population were, by law, prohibited the advantages of an education, and a large portion of the free population were virtually shut out from the means of an early culture. ... Thus has our land been deluged in blood. ... The root of the difficulty lay...in the fact of a

*From the call to the convention that organized the A.M.A. W.S. Beard, A Crusade of Brotherhood, (Boston; The Pilgrim Press, 1909), p. 31.

diffused and universal education at the North and a very limited education at the South." *

The interest of Northerners was focused on the Highlands partly because the great need of this region was becoming known, and partly because the Highlanders, having no economic use for slaves, were to a considerable extent northern in sympathy and therefore had sent many soldiers to the Union army. The educational movement was stimulated and guided by the example of the Peabody Fund, which, created in 1867, revolutionized the schools of many towns and cities of the South, especially in the lowlands.

The first missionary agency to establish a school for whites in the South was the Ladies Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. In 1879 these women started a school for colored girls at Concord, North Carolina, somewhat east of the Highlands as delimited in this book, but in similar territory. The teachers at once discovered that white girls of the vicinity needed education as much as the colored girls; and in the same year Whitehall Seminary was opened for them three miles away.

From that time interest in the Highlands spread rapidly. In the years 1885-1895 the Presbyterian women organized thirty-one schools, and in the following decade thirty-four more. The Congregational American Missionary Association, in 1884, appealed for a special fund "to carry on educational and evangelistic work in the mountain regions of Kentucky, Tennessee and the adjacent states." Funds were secured, and schools and small churches were soon established in various parts of the Highlands. In 1889 the Episcopal diocese of Virginia started missions, many of which included schools, in the Ragged Mountains. This work they later extended to other parts of the Blue Ridge Mountains within the diocese. By 1908 at least four other Episcopal dioceses had begun similar missionary work in their Highland districts.

The Women's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church began work in the Highlands by

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*Quoted from E.W.Knight, Public Education in the South,p.308.

1891, the date of organization of their oldest surviving mission. Other denominational women's societies instrumental in conducting schools in the region were those of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which commenced activities in North Carolina in 1895 or earlier, and that of the Reformed Church in America, which started its first mission in Kentucky in 1900.

The interest of outsiders in the education of the Highlanders showed itself not only through contributions to schools started by denominational missionary agencies, but also in the undertaking of educational work by individuals. Numerous persons engaged in enterprises of this kind requested aid from one board or another. In many cases the board either granted a subsidy or took over the work entirely, for several reasons: to prevent the sapping of sources of contributions by unauthorized appeals; to raise and to render more uniform the standards of teaching and equipment; and to organize the schools of the denomination into a system consistently and economically administered. Moreover, Northerners who had moved to the South, wanting schools similar to those with which they were familiar, sent to the boards of their denominations appeals which were granted in at least a few instances. In all these ways many missionary schools in the Highlands had arisen by 1905, and were being conducted under the auspices of several denominations having their national headquarters in the North.

Missionary Activities by Southern Denominations

In the meanwhile the principal southern denominations had also undertaken work for the Highlands. Their work, however, was at the beginning not educational but evangelical. That undertaken by the Presbyterian Church in the United States was instigated by Dr. Edward O. Guerrant, who had become interested in the religious needs of the Highlanders through journeys across the Highlands during his service in the Confederate army. Later in life he characterized the Highlanders at this early period as "practically without the Gospel," * thus discounting the value of the exist-

*Fifty Years Among the American Highlanders, a folder.

ing churches, many of which were of primitive denominations. As a physician, and later as pastor of churches near the Highlands and afterwards of a church in Louisville, Dr. Guerrant did what he could for the Highlanders both through personal service and by giving their situation wide publicity. In 1882 he was authorized by the Southern Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky to devote his whole time to the Highlands, under the style of "mountain evangelist." In this position he spent nearly four years in the Highlands, holding evangelical meetings combined with clinics, and organizing churches. When, broken in health, he returned to pastoral work, he continued to serve the Highlanders to the extent of his strength; and in 1897 he founded the Society of Soul Winners, the chief aim of which was to raise funds for the conduct of missionary work in the Highlands.

By this time Dr. Guerrant had been convinced that lasting religious results could not be obtained without training up leaders through teaching the young. He therefore introduced primary schools, many of which began their sessions in a log schoolhouse, in a tent or under a tree. The annual report of the Society of Soul Winners for 1910 enumerates fifty-nine day schools, 1,343 pupils and 239 teachers. Many of the schools were small and were held only in summer; but some developed into boarding schools of considerable size. In 1912 Dr. Guerrant, now become old and feeble, turned this work over to other agencies, most of it to the General Assembly of his denomination.

The Southern Baptist Convention also opened work for the Highlanders with evangelism. In 1885 they began to send each year from eight to fourteen "enlistment men" to the weak churches in the Highlands, to strengthen them by holding evangelistic meetings. Of the private schools under Baptist leadership, a few were in the Highlands. The death of the principal of one of these, Mars Hill, left the school in a precarious situation. A speaker at the convention of Southern Baptists in 1905 proposed that the Convention and the state bodies should jointly subsidize Baptist schools, both in the Highlands and in the lowlands, to train Baptist leaders. This proposition was adopted in 1908, and in consequence a considerable number of Baptist schools were taken over or established in the Highlands including the less developed sections. In 1918 there were thirty-six of these mountain schools. With the introduction of this educational program, the use of enlistment men was allowed to drop.

The Southern Methodists also established schools in the Highlands, similar in character to their schools in other territory, the earliest for which a date has been learned having been founded in 1886.

Improvement in Public Schools

These mission schools met a real need; for although comprehensive public-school systems were adopted during the period of reconstruction, serious obstacles prevented their development. The Civil War had destroyed property and had wrecked business. Revival was delayed by the difficulties of the transition from slave labor to hired labor. The carpet-bagger governments were wasteful and corrupt. Agriculture was crippled by the general practice of making cotton the sole crop, by a high rate of tenancy with the system of crop liens, and by the general use of antiquated methods. Industry did not attain any great development till toward the end of the century. For these and other reasons the wealth per child of school age was comparatively low throughout the South.

Other conditions that held back educational advance were the thinly scattered rural population, composed of two races for which separate schools must be provided; unsound systems of taxation; unproductive school funds; the influence of politics in school matters; child labor after factories began to be introduced; and, finally, the fact that public sentiment in favor of the education of all children at public expense, though growing, was still weak.

Considering all these handicaps, it is not strange that up to the beginning of the twentieth century the schools of the South were still comparatively poor. In most of the states having Highland territory schools were in session only three to five months in the year. The proportions of the children of school age that were enrolled and the proportions in average attendance were low. Only a small fraction of the pupils passed beyond the lowest grades. The buildings and equipment were still inadequate. The teachers were ill-equipped and underpaid. There were imperfect grading, little system, and almost no supervision. The inadequacy of the schools resulted in a proportion of illiteracy among whites in 1900 three times as high as the average for the United States.

The country schools were much worse off than those in the larger centers, many of which had been helped by the Peabody Fund, and among country schools those of such isolated sections as the Highlands were in the poorest condition of all.

In this situation the mission schools were helpful in several ways. They raised popular standards of what schools should be. They trained teachers and other leaders for both secular and religious fields, including some who became prominent outside the Highlands. These native sons not only increased the self-confidence and ambition of the Highlanders, but also provided some representation for mountain interest in state legislatures. Finally, they constituted centers of progressive leadership in the fields of economic prosperity, of health, of social life and especially of education.

Factors of widely divergent nature tending in the same direction were the example of the town and city schools aided by the Peabody Fund; the rise of middle-class leaders; the stand in favor of better schools that were taken by the Grange and other newly introduced farmers' organizations; the Conference for Education in the South and similar unifying agencies; a rapid increase in wealth in the South beginning with the last decade of the nineteenth century; and the introduction of equalization funds, through which the schools of poorer counties were aided from school money raised in richer sections.

Under these influences campaigns for school improvement were conducted by educational leaders in the different states. Through mass meetings, newspaper articles and other forms of publicity, earnest efforts were made to awaken general enthusiasm for developing the public schools.

As a result, the years 1900-1918 saw remarkable improvement in plants, in teaching and in organization. The school district was, to a considerable extent, replaced by the county as a unit of control, and supervisory methods were greatly improved. Parent-teacher associations fostered local interest and responsibility. Normal schools were multiplied and their standards were raised, while requirements for certification were made far more exacting, these two changes resulting in a better-trained force of teachers. The consolidation of elementary schools was begun, and many rural high schools were introduced. The improvement advanced faster in some states than in others, and within states the schools of some sections, counties and communities, especially those that were poor and isolated, lagged behind the rest. Advance continued after 1918, and interest in better schools was gradually extended into some of the smaller and more backward communities.

The improvement of public-school systems was met by the denominational agencies conducting mission schools in two contrasting ways. Some accepted the principle that the conduct of elementary and secondary schools was a function of government. Such agencies turned over their schools to county systems as these became able to conduct them, or withdrew schools in the neighborhood of improved public schools, or changed their objectives so that their work should not compete with public schools. When Kentucky passed a law requiring a high school in each county-seat, the Presbyterian, U.S.A., Woman's Board immediately dropped several county-seat schools in that state, although actual provision for meeting the need through the public-school system was not yet in existence. Mission elementary day schools, once very common, are now rare except in isolated sections, such as the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau and the Blue Ridge.

This type of policy was adopted, with some reservations and exceptions, by most of the northern denominational boards conducting missions. The Woman's Board of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., for example, slackened the rate of starting new schools after 1905, establishing only three in the next five years, and only four in the twenty years thereafter. Many schools, too, the Presbyterians turned over to the public-school system or withdrew entirely. In 1913, for instance, they surrendered responsibility for all their remaining day schools in North Carolina, some twenty or more. Whereas in 1909 the Presbyterian annual home mission report recorded fifty-five schools with 3,906 pupils, in 1915 it reported only twenty-eight schools with 1,882 pupils, a reduction in both items of just about one-half; and in 1931 Presbyterian agencies gave subsidies to only seven schools, all of which either were in handicapped territory or had non-competitive objectives. Likewise, the Congregational American Missionary Association had far fewer schools in 1918 than it had had in 1907. In most cases of transfer to public responsibility the withdrawal of oversight and financial assistance has been gradual.

The Methodist Board of Home Missions, in 1920, adopted officially the policy of aiding local forces in the conduct of schools with the definite objective of raising standards so that their help might quickly be dispensed with.* In one county of Tennessee, for example, they aided six schools by making possible new buildings, more and better teachers, a lengthened term, and an enriched curriculum. In 1927, only seven years after the experiment began, the county took over full responsibility for the sixth of these schools.

Quite a different attitude toward mission schools in relation to the improved public-school system was held by many educational leaders in the boards of southern denominations. With them the tradition of education in denominational schools continued strong; and at the same time they needed leaders for their local churches, which are much more numerous than those of denominations whose central headquarters are in the North. Although both the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., and the Methodist Episcopal Church have in the Highlands local churches planted in early days, and though these denominations and others, such as the Congregational Churches, have established churches in connection with mission schools, these churches are far fewer than those of the strictly southern denominations.

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*The educator who was put in charge of this work by the Board had done similar work with the aid of private contributions for many years.

The Southern Baptists, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Presbyterian Church in the United States, therefore, continued for a time to carry on their schools in the Highlands; but they found it difficult to support them all. The Southern Baptists, for example, had in each state at least one college, one boys' school and one girls' school; it had schools in the lowlands as well as in the Highlands of a given state; and in some states it was conducting several Highland schools. The subsidies for all these institutions came half from the Home Board of the Southern Baptist Convention and half from the missionary agency of the Baptist Convention of the state. Each of the different educational institutions tried to get a large share of the funds. The friends of the colleges were particularly urgent in their requests, especially after the War, when the Southern Association of Colleges and other standardizing agencies, by setting high standards for certification, made necessary for the colleges increased expenditures for equipment, teaching and other forms of outlay. It soon became very difficult to support all these institutions adequately, especially as local groups incurred expenditures for which the boards accepted obligation. Finally, as a consequence of the Cairnes' embezzlement in 1928, the Southern Convention in the following year abandoned financial responsibility for the schools. The state agencies could not carry them all. Some have been closed or consolidated, and in 1931 plans for further readjustment were under consideration. The Presbyterian Church, U.S., has also been compelled by a falling income to discontinue many of the schools consigned to its care by Dr. Guerrant.

Where schools have been discontinued, the plant and personnel have frequently been applied to other purposes. The school building has in many cases been sold, lent or given outright, to the public school. In other localities mission buildings have been converted into dormitories for country girls attending a county-seat high school, or have been utilized for orphanages. In some instances teachers have been kept on in the same locality to perform various kinds of community service; in others they have been transferred to a locality where educational work was still needed.

While the missionary agencies longest in the field have thus been surrendering or readjusting their educational activities, several additional denominations, realizing the need of the Highlands and the appeal of Highland missions to their contributors, have introduced new schools. These enterprises have in some cases been located in districts still greatly in need of help. Among these later comers in the field are the Seventh Day Adventists, the Evangelicals, and the United Lutherans.

Other Forms of Missionary Work

Lessened attention to mission schools was accompanied by an increase in interest in community centers. The Presbyterians, U.S.A., for example, who had long sponsored work in mountain homes in connection with their schools, and who had begun in 1896 to establish community centers pure and simple, after 1910 increased the number of their missions of this kind both in communities where schools had been withdrawn and in other localities. By several denominations, too, health centers were maintained in increasing numbers. Sunday school missions are carried on by certain denominations, especially by the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., and also by the American Sunday School Union, which long ago started the first Sunday schools in isolated parts of the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau and elsewhere. An important type of work that has recently been developed consists of summer schools for ministers.

More important than any other type of missionary activity, in the opinion of denominational executives, is the work of missionary pastors. In the Highlands, as elsewhere, the practice of supplementing the salaries of ministers serving weak churches by home missionary grants had long been in use. In the valley county surveyed, for example, there were, in 1921, five churches that had received home mission aid for periods of from thirty-five to fifty years. Such has been given not only by some of the denominations established in the Highlands since early days, such as the Missionary Baptists and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, but also by several denominations not originally having churches in the rugged parts of the region.

Work of this kind on the part of outsiders in a region long provided with native churches was justified by pointing out that Highland churches did not provide certain kinds of service that in the United States in general had come to be accepted as essential elements of an adequate ministry to rural territory. The essentials cited were weekly services emphasizing worship, trained ministers without other occupations resident among their people, character-building through progressive methods of religious education and through the work of subsidiary church organizations, and some degree of adjustment in the teaching offered between theology and science. In recent years another criterion has come to be offered with more and more emphasis, namely, service to the community in every department of life in which there may be need of help. Home missionary pastors, therefore, came to be present in the Highlands in considerable numbers; and it became an accepted policy of the denominations operating from without to entrust to the care of these pastors community service of a great variety of kinds.

Altogether, in spite of considerable withdrawal from educational work, there are many missions of various kinds in the Highlands. Since they have been planted by no small number of uncoordinated agencies, they are scattered without system, their fields of service overlapping in some districts and in others leaving large stretches of territory unserved. The missionary history of the region has brought into existence, as factors tending to shape future work, resources and conditions of several kinds. Among these the most obvious are the material plant and equipment. Next are the experienced and often devoted teachers and other workers. Especially important are the principals and other head workers, who while moulding their institutions have in turn been shaped by the work to dominance and to tenacity of ideas and purposes. Finally, there are the attitudes aroused by the various missions in the Highlanders that have come into contact with them, often over a period of many years; in some cases receptivity, confidence and devotion; in others, dependence, a grudging subservience, and possibly some degree of pauperization. All these residues of previous work create not only conditions but opportunities and responsibilities for future missionary labors.

Difficulties Encountered by Missionaries

Other fixed conditions besides those resulting from the previous history of the missions constitute serious difficulties for the missionary in the Highlands.

Characteristics of the Highlanders: One group of such difficulties consists of certain traits already shown to be characteristic of the Highlanders. In the first place, their pride and dignity cause them to object to interference in their long-established ways of life, and especially in their religion, which is part of their very selves to a degree rare in this age. "If you people have something that you can give us," said a typical Old Regular Baptist, "we'll be glad to have it;" but his look and tone clearly implied, "I don't think you have anything." To such people the idea that missionaries should be sent to them, as if they were heathen, is very galling; and they have a strong prejudice against "brought-on religions."

Their pride, however, does not prevent the Highlanders from accepting temporal benefits offered by the missions. Indeed, a denominational official familiar with the region reported: "In some communities a mission school is looked upon as a fine cow for them to milk. They milk it, too. When the cow is dry they say, 'All right, it's not our cow.'" Yet, though in their extreme need they seize the gift, they do this with a sense of humiliation that in course of time may turn them against their benefactors.

Closely associated with their pride is their suspicion of all "furriners", as they call those coming from outside the Highlands. Missionary ministers, in particular, have to combat the prejudice of many against "paid preachers." Distrust is intensified by any divergence from their own code or standards. For instance, a minister visiting a mission school was dissuaded by the principal from going across the street to the chapel without a hat, on the ground that he might be thought "a drunk man." Again, the prevailing jack-of-all-trades standard sometimes interferes with the appreciation of any missionary, however highly educated, who is not handy about odd jobs. Even a minister born in Kentucky - though not in the hill country - reported that it took the Highlanders seven years to accept him as one of themselves.

The well-recognized individualism of the Highlanders is also a frequent source of embarrassment to the missionary. Their failure to see things alike and the absence of the habit of cooperation among them render it hard to secure concerted action; and a still greater handicap is the tendency for factions to arise within a church or local school board, sometimes resulting in a final split. Other characteristics that hamper the success of missions are the inertia and lack of initiative of the Highlanders, their deficiencies in education and their lack of the power of thinking for themselves. A serious consequence of this group of traits is that there are no lay leaders competent and willing to carry on the kinds of work the missionaries consider all important.

Distinctive Ethical Concepts: Still other difficulties lie in distinctive ethical attitudes of the Highlanders, such as the clannishness among relatives, the feud spirit, acceptance of the traffic in votes, the condoning of acts of violence, and the tolerance on the part of some persons of moonshining and bootlegging. The contrast between the traditions of the Highlanders and of the missionaries in regard to such ethical points as those mentioned, together with ignorance on each side as to just what position is held by the other and a failure on one or both sides to think problems out clearly, result in mutual misunderstanding and ineffective ethical instruction.

Standards Regarding Church Program: Misunderstandings arise also in regard to conflicting standards regarding the church program. The people have deeply engrained preferences for the monthly preaching service, the simple, perfunctory Sunday school, and the absence of other subsidiary organizations and of any kind of social service by the church. On the other hand, they insist upon having revival meetings. The missionary has his own very different standards. Any divergences from the old routine are apt to be misinterpreted and to be quietly resisted.

Limited Funds: Low standards of church expenditure and of personal contributions, moreover, limit the financial support of the churches from local sources. The money provided by boards, philanthropic agencies and benevolent individuals is restricted at best, and is rendered uncertain by the fact that the boards and many individual missions send competing appeals to much the same public. In 1931 contributions had been reduced by the falling income of the boards during several years, and by the general depression.

Competition: A serious handicap to work in many communities is the presence of denominational competition. A single example, reported by a denominational superintendent, will show how destructive such competition can be. The Presbyterians, U.S., planted a school and a church in a village that has never had so many as 500 inhabitants. Then Methodists, Baptists and Disciples successively organized churches and erected church buildings. Finally Holiness people began to hold meetings. The Presbyterians surrendered the field to the later comers. Methodists, Baptists and Disciples withdrew their ministers. A few years later there was not a Sunday school in the place, and the only meetings were those of the perfectionists.

Changes in Environment: Finally, after a mission is introduced the environment may change so entirely that the existing work is no longer suitable. A surfaced highway may banish isolation in a night, substituting for the old problems a whole set of new ones. A coal mine may be opened, or mining or lumbering operations may be brought to an end, with far-reaching consequences. Again, soil may become depleted, and the opening of "public works" not far away may be followed by outward migration. Or an extensive county or philanthropic program of work in the fields of health, agriculture or public welfare may supersede that which has been carried on by a mission within its territory. Such transformations necessitate a radical reconstruction of missionary activities and in some cases even a change of location.

Difficulties of Particular Denominations: In addition to the difficulties described above, which are encountered in the missionary work of all agencies, certain peculiar obstacles are experienced by particular denominations. The Southern Baptists, who form the strongest denominational element in most of the typically Highland territory, have in their constituency a large conservative element. Such persons share in great measure the attitudes of the Anti-missionary Baptists regarding missions, educated preachers, church expenditures and auxiliary societies. Whole churches in the more isolated sections are Anti-missionary in all but name. This fact renders it very difficult for the denomination either to raise money for missions or to elevate the standard of church maintenance and program. Moreover, the Cairnes embezzlement in 1928 resulted in the shrinkage of the annual sum spent on all the missionary projects of the Home Board of the Southern Baptist Convention to an amount less than one-eighth of what it was before. In consequence, not only have subsidies to schools from this source been cut off entirely, but home missionary grants to ministers, even in needy mining camps and neglected rural districts, have been greatly curtailed or have been withdrawn altogether. The prejudice against educated preachers, shared by many of the preachers themselves, also militates against the extension through the Highlands of the ideals of the foremost denominational leaders. In fact, the average Baptist preacher in the mountains regards with distrust, as heretical, the leading theological seminary of the denomination.

The Methodist bodies both Northern and Southern also have their peculiar handicaps. Their connectional machinery and authority is not congenial to the highly individualistic Highlanders. When a minister to whom a congregation objects is returned, they have been known to go on strike, refusing to attend his services, though they may continue to conduct their Sunday school. Methodism, indeed, has never gained much foothold in the rural territory of the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau. The acceptance of immersion as the scriptural form of baptism, which is traditional in the Highlands, forms an obstacle to Methodists in common with representatives of other non-immersionist denominations. The inadequate supply of trained ministers, with the tendency for the more competent men to be transferred to sections where salaries are better, works against a high grade of ministerial leadership. The low standard of church expenditures in the Highlands, in combination with the use of small home mission grants here as in the rest of the country, makes necessary circuits having a large number of points, in order to ensure even a small living wage for the ministers. Methodist churches are peculiarly liable to be weakened by Holiness services in the vicinity. Finally, the presence in the same county, and sometimes in the same community, of churches of both the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and in the Alleghany Plateau of one or both of these and the Methodist Protestant Church, increases the difficulties of the denomination by dividing membership and resources and by entailing the duplication of supervisory officials.

Both bodies of Presbyterians share with the Methodists the handicaps of a centralized form of polity and of baptism otherwise than by immersion. The objection that their denominational name is not in the Bible, as the word Baptist is, though equally applicable to the Methodists, seems more generally raised in connection with the Presbyterians. Ever since the Cumberland Presbyterian schism, the tradition of an educated professional ministry with one or few points to a minister has greatly interfered with the service by Presbyterian churches of thinly settled rural territory. The highly intellectual cast of Presbyterian doctrines, with the comparative absence of emotional appeal, are not generally attractive to people of so low an educational level as the Highlanders, except where Presbyterian churches, organized in the years of settlement, have for generations retained a traditional loyalty.

The Protestant Episcopal Church, besides encountering many of the obstacles met by other denominations, has to contend with what one of their annual reports calls "a perennial and almost impregnable well of prejudice." This feeling arises partly from the traditional antagonism of the Highlanders to forms and ceremonies of all kinds, and partly from an association in their minds of the Episcopal Church with the Roman Catholic Church. So strong is the objection of the people to the Episcopal ritual that schools of this church sometimes find it hard to persuade the pupils to attend their services.

An almost insurmountable barrier between missionaries of all denominations and the people they have come to assist, lies in differences regarding basic conceptions as to the nature of religion. These differences are more marked for the missionaries of denominations operating from outside the Highlands, but they are felt also by the representatives of denominations established in the region from early days. Such contrasts are found in attitudes toward the Bible, especially in relation to science; in conceptions of the relative importance of a sudden emotional conversion and of the gradual development of Christian character; and in the centering of attention first, on doctrine versus conduct, and, secondly, on a future heaven in contrast with the betterment of conditions in the present life.

Holding such divergent views, both the Highlanders and the missionaries find it almost impossible to recognize the validity of the religious experiences of the other party. The missionary tends to minimize the religious values possessed by the Highlander, characterizing them, in the words of one such minister, as "intense and strange spiritual vagaries." The Highlander, for his part, tends to believe that the "brought-on religion" with its coldness and its heretical doctrines is not religion at all.

Chapter VIII

HOME MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES OTHER THAN SCHOOLS

The widespread sympathy awakened by the unparalleled deprivations, the romantic history and the picturesque existence of the inhabitants of the Highlands, has given rise to a great deal of multifarious activity designed to afford assistance to these underprivileged people. Many ministers subsidized by home missionary grants serve groups of local congregations. Mission schools number, even now, at least 139. Of local welfare agencies other than schools and home mission churches, there are at least 162 including many community centers specializing in different types of work, with a few orphanages and hospitals.

These numerous and varied undertakings derive their support from hundreds of thousands of charitable individuals all over the United States, most of them persons of small or moderate means. Part of the contributions go to the Highlands by way of denominational boards. In this work the nine denominations having the most extensive missions in the region* expended in the year preceding the survey over $1,108,000.**

In the seventeen counties surveyed, many other denominations also dispensed aid. The total of the home missionary grants to ministers from denominations other than the nine included in the general investigation amounted to one-fifth as much as was appropriated to home mission salaries by those nine bodies.

*Northern Baptist Convention; Southern Baptist Convention; Congregational Churches; Methodist Episcopal Church; Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Presbyterian Church in the U.S.; Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Protestant Episcopal Church; Reformed Church in America.

**Based partly on data from national and sectional denominational minutes and partly on information secured from denominational officials.

HOME MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES OTHER THAN SCHOOLS

Agencies other than denominational, such as a chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and particular sororities, take financial responsibility for certain institutions. The total amount received from such sources by the enterprises in the seventeen counties was about one-seventh as great as the total provided by home missionary agencies. Contributions from individuals sent direct to the institutions, in great measure in response to solicitation, amounted in the seventeen counties to about three-tenths of the total amount contributed to such institutions. Assuming that for the Highlands as a whole the amounts appropriated by denominations other than the nine investigated, by agencies not denominational, and by private individuals, bear the same ratios to the total amount received from the nine denominations as in the seventeen counties surveyed, the grand total expended annually by outside agencies and individuals in religious, educational and social work in the Highlands must be about $1,500,000.

Home Mission Aid

The form of activity from without the Highlands that most directly affects the churches consists of the supplementing of ministers' salaries by home mission grants. The total sum expended in this way in the year 1930-31, by the nine denominations considered, was over $345,000. If this forms the same part of the grand total spent by all denominations, in the Highlands as a whole as in the seventeen counties, the full amount applied to home mission grants to churches was well over $415,000. The money of the eight denominations was distributed among approximately 740 ministers, who served more than 2,600 churches; so that all Protestant denominations taken together presumably granted aid to about 850 ministers for service to at least 3,000 churches.

Denominations making grants assume toward their aided churches one of two highly contrasting attitudes. The denominations that have been present in the area from early days, such as the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Southern Baptist Convention, regard the Highlands as just another group of conferences or associations in which they apply a standardized policy of supplementing by small grants the salaries of ministers assigned to the weaker charges.* For these denominations the average grant per aided minister for the year 1930-31 in the territory investigated was $298. On the other hand, the Presbyterians, U.S.A. and U.S., the Episcopalians, and a few other denominations, which are regarded as "foreign" by the Highlanders because they have few or no indigenous churches in typically Highland territory, all regard the region as a mission field.** These denominations make comparatively large grants, which in the counties surveyed averaged $994 per minister.

The comparatively small grants of the long-established bodies were partly compensated for by a larger average number of churches served by a minister, 4.2, in contrast to 2.7 for the denominations from outside. The ratio between grants from missionary sources and payments by local churches was very different for the two groups of denominations. For the group of long-established denominations, grants were a little over half as great as total salary payments; while for the outside denominations, they were nearly three times as large. The average compensation of the ministers, including salary payments from churches, home mission grants and allowance for parsonage where present, was

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*The long-established denominations present in the seventeen counties surveyed were Methodist Episcopal; Methodist Episcopal, South; Southern Baptist Convention; Church of the Brethren; Disciples of Christ; Cumberland Presbyterian Church; Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church; United Brethren; and United Brethren, Old Constitution; The Southern Baptists, it should be noted, undertook in 1931 a survey of religious conditions in the Highlands and elsewhere, one of the purposes of which was to locate territory with inadequate religious ministry which would be peculiarly open to home missionary work by Baptists.

**The denominations operating from outside the Highlands that had churches in the seventeen counties were Presbyterian, U.S. and U.S.A., Protestant Episcopal, Congregational, Seventh Day Adventist, and Friends. Although the first three denominations have a long history in the valley sections of the region they have never been well established in the hills.

$914 for the long-established bodies, and $1,460 for the denominations. Denominational officials considered that the compensation received by the ministers even of the outside denominations was too low to hold some of the strongest missionaries in the Highlands.

Among the eight denominations especially considered, the long-established denominations aided considerably larger proportions of ministers and of churches than the denominations operating from outside. On the other hand, the former group of bodies provided not much more than one-third of the combined total expenditures for home mission grants; and of the combined total for missionary work of all kinds, including schools and community centers, as well as aid to pastors, agencies of the long-established denominations contributed only one-fourth.

The Home Missionary Ministers: A relatively small proportion of the aided ministers obtained part of their support from other occupations than the ministry.* The situation in this respect was practically the same for ministers of both groups of denominations.

In regard to the place of birth and the education of ministers, however, the two sets of denominations showed marked differences. The aided ministers of denominations long established in the Highlands were practically all born either in the same region or in other parts of the South. Though only one in seven was a graduate of both college and seminary, they included, as compared to Highland ministers in general, a greater proportion of men who had taken undergraduate courses, had attended Bible schools or summer conferences for preachers, or had followed denominational courses of reading. They were not, however, essentially different in outlook and practices from the better educated ministers that are not aided, especially from those in the larger centers. In many cases the parishioners were unaware that their preacher was receiving a grant.

Among the aided ministers of outside denominations, on the other hand, comparatively few were native to the Highlands, a large proportion coming from other sections of the United States and a few even from foreign lands. Again, most of them had received an advanced education, and well over half of those on the field in 1931 were graduates of both college and seminary.

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*For the aided ministers the proportion with other occupations was 29.4 per cent. For ministers in the seventeen counties in general it was 62.3 per cent.

The Missionary Churches: Let us begin our study of the missionary churches by visiting an outstanding example. Our destination is in a narrow valley till recently very much isolated, but today accessible to our car over a graveled road. As we approach, the beautiful little white church with its tower and Gothic windows and its well-kept lawn awakens a sense of contrast with the box-like, weed-surrounded church houses of which we have seen so many in the Highlands. Not far away is a two-story stone house covered with vines and surrounded with beds of flowers. In front of the church a group of girls and boys are unloading a hand sled of greenery. The energetic young woman in charge explains that the Girl and Boy Scouts are trimming the church for the wedding of two members of the young people's society, which is to take place that afternoon - "our very first church wedding. Dad was called to Pig Snout early this morning to settle a feud; but Mother's over there at the manse. She can tell you everything."

At the stone house a capable-looking, motherly woman receives us into a big living room which, with shelves of books, pictures, flowers, warm-hued rugs and comfortable old chairs, seems like a home transported to the mountains from somewhere far away. Our expressions of pleased surprise at the outward aspect of the mission draw forth an account of small beginnings and a long struggle. The missionary has been here for twenty years. At first only a few came to church, and they were attracted partly by curiosity about the "furriner" and his "brought-on religion" and partly by the hope of possible material benefits. Slowly the confidence of the people had been won. Household treasures were brought in by freight and jolt wagon. The chapel and manse were memorials erected recently by northerners.

The girls come up on the roomy piazza outside with arms full of daisies. They weave the flowers into a thick chain for the bridal procession, while the minister's daughter adapts little white dresses to two mites who are to be flower girls.

Our apologies for intrusion at such an inconvenient time are met by assurances that we are very welcome, and that if it had not been a wedding it would have been a meeting of the Mothers' Club, or a lesson in canning in the manse kitchen for the girls, or a hike with the Scouts, or possibly a funeral. Hospitably urged, we stay for dinner in order to be present at the wedding.

The minister comes to the table late, looking weary but benign. After long discussions with each of a pair of enemies and with their relatives, a truce has been agreed upon for the time being. On his way home on horseback he was joined by a young Anti-missionary preacher anxious to consult him about some of the pitfalls of the doctrine of predestination.

In the church green boughs deck the beams and surround the stained glass windows. In front are masses of flowers. People of all ages crowd into the carved pews with quiet eagerness to see every detail of a ceremony almost unknown to them, since in the Highlands most couples are married at the court house. Not a detail, from the wedding march to the orange blossoms on the bride's veil, is missed. Many young girls and boys seem to have a share in the arrangements. After the bride and groom have left, the people linger talking to one another or dropping in at the manse to exchange roots of flowers or to get a new recipe for biscuit. But busy as the minister's wife evidently is, she sends her youngest to urge the strangers to return to the manse.

Back in the homelike living room we are cordially invited to stay over night, in order to have a chance to talk with the missionary. "Just now," says our hostess, "he is with some of our former young people, back for the wedding. They have been through a mission school. Now they work in Knoxville, because there are no openings for them to earn a living in the mountains except the few positions for teachers."

Explaining with expressions of gratitude our inability to remain, we ask what is to happen in the evening. "This is the night for the young people's society. They meet in this room, using folding chairs that we keep stowed away under those window seats. They seem to like to come here, partly because after the meeting we turn on the radio, which is the only one for miles around. And then I usually give them cocoa and cookies."

Other questions make it clear that the minister and his wife and elder daughter carry on many forms of activity in addition to those already evident. There is the Sunday school, and in term time the class in religious education at the public school, with the Vacation Bible School in July. There is a mid-week prayer meeting the year around. There are socials and now and then a lecture with stereopticon slides. There is cooperation with the county Public Health Unit and with the county agricultural agent. Altogether we get an impression of a church offering service to its community in far more ways than those we have studied hitherto.

Number and Distribution of Aided Churches

Home missionary grants were received by one in five of the churches in the seventeen counties surveyed. This ratio is not unusually high, as might be expected in an underprivileged section; but is practically the same as that prevailing in twenty-five counties widely representative of rural territory in the United States.* Aid was received by certain churches of all but three of the counties surveyed. The records of home mission grants in denominational minutes also indicate that subsidies are paid to churches in many parts of the Highlands.

The proportions of churches receiving grants in the counties visited did not vary with the need of the sections in which they were situated. On the contrary, the highest proportion was for the Central Ridges, a section which has been shown to be relatively well favored as regards both environment and religious privileges; the groups of counties in two Cumberland Plateaus and the Blue Ridge had lower and nearly equal percentages; while in the two counties in the Alleghany Plateau no home missionary churches were identified. Moreover, the amount expended in home mission subsidies in relation to area was considerably lower for the counties of those most underprivileged sections, the Northeastern and Northwestern Cumberland Plateaus, than it was for the Blue Ridge. These inequalities have resulted naturally from the fact that home mission grants have been applied more or less haphazard, without cooperative planning or comprehensive knowledge of the needy districts.

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*E.DeS. Brunner and J.H.Kolb, Rural Social Trends (New York; McGraw-Hill, 1933), p.237.

Moreover, more than a quarter of the home mission churches are in centers, so that three out of ten of the villages and hamlets have one or more aided churches. Considering that four-fifths of the people live in the open country, this would seem a large proportion. Yet the fact is natural enough, taking into account the disposition of roads and schools, and considerations of denominational strategy. The concentration is especially evident in county-seats. Of the fourteen county-seats in the territory studied, all but four had at least one home mission church.* Five county-seats had one aided church in the presence of one or more other churches; four had two aided churches apiece; and one had three churches each of which received a missionary grant. Similar competition existed in other centers. For example, one of the counties had nine centers in addition to the county-seat, none of as many as 500 inhabitants, that had at least one home mission church; and one of these, like the county-seat, had two such churches. All but two of these centers had at least one other church in addition to the church or churches receiving aid, and four had two additional churches.

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*The county-seats of two of the seventeen counties studied were not included in the field surveyed because they had populations of over 2,500. Another was in the valley, which in that instance was not surveyed.

The outstanding case of competition in the whole territory investigated was a county-seat of 1,128 inhabitants, which had three churches receiving home mission grants besides three other Protestant churches.

A home mission minister with one of his churches in a center commonly resides in the center, especially if it is a county-seat; so that in 1931 thirty of the seventy-two home missionaries lived in the larger villages. On the other hand, twenty-eight lived in the open country or in very small hamlets.

Membership

In the number of their members the aided churches do not differ markedly from other churches of the Highlands. Their average resident membership is fifty-two, not much below the general average of fifty-eight. They include some very small churches, but an even higher proportion of churches with fewer than twenty-five resident members are found among self-supporting churches. And though there are among the aided churches relatively fewer congregations with a hundred or more resident members, the difference is not very great.

The membership of the home mission churches was increasing at a rate only slightly higher than that of Highland churches in general; for the number of additions in the year before the survey was 13.1 per cent. of the membership for the mission churches, whereas for all the churches taken together it was 11.1 per cent. As between the two types of denominations, the long-established and the foreign, the rate of gain did not differ greatly. The number of additions per church in the year averaged 6.8, the same as for churches not receiving grants. Among the missionary churches a higher proportion of the churches of foreign denominations received new members than of the long-established denominations - 78.4 per cent. in contrast to 60.2 per cent.; and the number received per church was slightly larger.

Program

In variety of work undertaken the home mission churches show a decided contrast to other Highland churches. More of them, for example, have subsidiary organizations of different kinds. In this respect the home mission churches of denominations operating from outside the Highlands excel those of long-established bodies; for of the churches of the former group of bodies every one had a Sunday school, more than half a young people's society, and nearly three-fifths a woman's society, all of these proportions being markedly higher than for the long-established denominations. In number of organizations per church, moreover, the home mission churches as a group excelled churches in general, and aided churches of foreign denominations surpassed those of long-established denominations.

The protracted meetings that form so prominent a part of the year's work for the Highland churches in general, are equally important for the home mission churches of the long-established bodies. Over three-fourths of these churches held such meetings in the year preceding the survey, and in connection with these occasions they won more than three-quarters of the new members received during that year. Of the aided churches of the outside denominations, however, not much more than half held such services; and through them they enlisted only one-third of their new members.

On the other hand, relatively more of the home mission churches employed specialized methods of religious education than among the self-supporting churches outside the larger centers. For example, they frequently made use of graded lessons, daily vacation Bible schools, weekday classes in religious education, and teacher-training classes.

Furthermore, a larger proportion of the aided churches, at least among those of outside denominations, concerned themselves with the needs of their communities in other fields than the religious. They worked toward the improvement of public health, of agriculture, of diet, cooking and sewing, cooperating in these fields with public services whenever present. Some of them also enriched the social life of their localities through clubs, lectures, socials and pageants. Many-sided community service to all the points of a charge, including those where the minister was not resident, was rendered with unusual thoroughness by two larger parishes, the only ones identified in strictly Highland territory.

Influence

Through all these methods and through many informal friendly contacts the influence of the missionaries has been leavening their environment. Slowly in their scattered communities new attitudes have been awakened in the young people: a new conception of Christian experience as the gradual development of Christian character; new ethical ideals and habits, and more modern ways of domestic living; desires formerly unknown for beauty and knowledge and broader experience. Out of the communities where these men with their wives and daughters have served, many boys and girls have gone to mission school and to college. A few have returned; but many, because of scarcity of openings for self-support at home, have settled elsewhere, most of them in larger centers. So far as the home community goes, the civilizing process must to a large extent be continually renewed as fresh groups of children reach adolescence.

Moreover, far from all the home mission churches exert the varied leavening influences that we saw at work in the example visited. The minister and his family cannot do so much for the churches where they do not reside. Of the aided churches of long-established denominations, one-third have no program beyond preaching, Sunday school and possibly a society for women or for young people. The other two-thirds have better work in religious education than the average church, but they rarely undertake varied community service. The churches of denominations operating from outside the Highlands, many of which endeavor to afford their people a many-sided service, are rare in the more underprivileged sections. The Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, for example, has only nine per 1,000 square miles, and several counties have not a single church of any of the outside denominations. Some missionaries, moreover, are unable to understand the Highlanders or to win their confidence, try as they may.

Others do not stay long enough to acquire much influence.

Indeed, a not inconsiderable number of missionary churches have been abandoned. Sometimes a church developed in connection with a mission school has collapsed after the school has been turned over to the county school system. In other instances it has proved impossible to win the people, or changes in environmental conditions have interfered with success; or again, denominational support has been withdrawn. Three missions, each under a different denomination, had been abandoned in one of the counties visited. Comparison of the figures of the Religious Census for different periods show that for no small number of Highland counties, outside denominations that were once represented no longer reported members in 1926. A dozen such cases are found in the twenty-three sample counties of the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau alone.

On the whole, helpful as certain home mission churches are in leavening their communities, both in religious lines and in many other ways, these churches are not large, and they are growing very slowly. In the absence of cooperative planning, moreover, they are poorly distributed, competing in county-seats and other centers and leaving untouched extended needy districts. Moreover, the effectiveness and the permanence of their ministry varies greatly, depending very largely on the personalities of the missionaries and their wives.

Summer Schools for Preachers

Denominational agencies endeavor to improve ministerial service not only by supplementing salaries so as to make it possible for weak churches to have better ministers, but by providing summer schools to give the ministers instruction and stimulus. Some schools of this kind are held, under the supervision of denominational conferences or associations, at denominational colleges, such as Emory and Henry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and Carson Newman of the Southern Baptist Convention. An important Southern Methodist summer school is held at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. Interdenominational courses are given at Vanderbilt University at Nashville, Tennessee; at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute at Blacksburg, and at other educational institutions. The ministers attending most of these schools are provided with free board, tuition and books.

That the mountain preachers in greatest need of additional training are not attracted to these schools was reported by many witnesses. Many of the preachers are laboring men with families, unable to take the time for attending school. The theory of inspiration held by many makes study seem unnecessary to them. As a class they regard the theological teaching even of their own denomination as of questionable orthodoxy. Some are further antagonized by the wide range of interests fostered at some of these schools, saying that a preacher has to do only with the Gospel, and not with cattle-grading or psychology. The outcome is that the ministers attending these institutes are drawn for the most part from among those already better equipped, and the uneducated mountain preachers are not enlisted. Some of these courses have recently been suspended.

One summer school, however, does actually bring together genuine mountain preachers. This is the Southern Baptist Conference at Clear Creek Springs, near Pineville, Kentucky. Through long-continued friendly relations, the leaders of this conference have won the confidence of many young preachers in the Highlands of eastern Kentucky and northern Tennessee. In 1931 the conferences had been held for five summers, and the registration of preachers had varied from twelve the first year to sixty-eight in 1930. In a beautiful valley of the mountains the young men spend four weeks together. Though they are entertained and taught without expense, yet to support their families during the course and to have money for books, more than one has mortgaged his home.

The students themselves decide what they will study and who shall teach them. Each year a particular book of the Bible is studied, the historic background being given, so that the young men gain a new conception of the meaning of the book, and of verses from it that they have hitherto interpreted apart from the context; and thus they acquire a changed attitude toward the Bible in general. They have an hour for English, in which they learn to correct errors of speech that have been sources of embarrassment to them. Another period is devoted to specific professional problems, set by the students themselves and concerning both theological difficulties, like falling from grace, and practical issues, such as the difference between licensing and ordaining a preacher. In the evenings addresses are frequently given by well-known men in the big auditorium of cobble stone.

Former students were enthusiastic about the benefits they had received from attending the conferences. Here are some of the things they said about it:

"It showed me I needed to study and introduced me to books I wanted to read."

"It cleared up my thinking about free will and predestination."

"It made the Bible a new book to me."

"It made me more of a Missionary."

"It fitted me to take my present position as a full-time minister."

Since a large proportion of the Highlanders are Baptists, and the mountain preachers are their natural and trusted leaders, prominent Baptists feel that this conference is full of promise for natural religious upbuilding upon existing foundations in the part of the Highlands from which Clear Creek Springs is ready accessible.

Religious Education

Sunday school missionaries were sent into the Highlands many years ago by the American Sunday School Union. In one of the counties of the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau a tradition lingered that this organization had started the first Sunday schools forty years before, and that the few Sunday schools in the county that were not conducted by missionaries were a result of its activities. In 1932 the American Sunday School Union had eleven agents working in the Highlands, who organized eighty-five schools in the year.

The Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., also conducts Sunday school missions in the Highlands. In the year 1931-32 they maintained there about eleven Sunday school missionaries at a cost of more than $19,000. Their most extensive work in the Highlands was in Tennessee, where they supervised 198 Sunday schools in thirty counties, and in Alabama, where they had oversight of thirty-one schools in ten counties. Besides organizing and supervising Sunday schools, these missionaries hold Vacation Bible Schools, supervise weekday religious education, conduct workers' conferences, teacher-training classes and Sunday school institutes, and spend much time in house-to-house visitation and in the distribution of books and tracts.

In certain parts of the Highlands, especially in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, where the Sunday school has not been accepted as an essential institution, there are a few local leaders competent to continue the work of a Sunday school between the visits of a missionary. For that reason the work of these agents in such districts has often been transitory. The Presbyterians, U.S.A., now have in the Highlands two women Sunday school missionaries located permanently in groups of communities.

In the neighborhood of home mission churches and community centers of all denominations there are frequently several outlying Sunday schools conducted by the mission workers. In one of the counties studied in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau there were many such Sunday schools, which constituted nearly all the Sunday school work of the country districts. In the neighborhood of certain mission schools, too, such Sunday schools are conducted by students, under the oversight of teachers, in connection with work in religious education.

Students are also trained in some of the mission schools to conduct Vacation Bible Schools, and are supervised in carrying on such work in the territory surrounding the school. In certain cases students from elsewhere are employed in work of this kind. The Congregationalists, for example, carry on student work in seven districts within the Highlands.

Denominational agencies and interdenominational state councils of religious education are attempting in certain states, as, for example, in Virginia and West Virginia, to improve the work of the Sunday schools through courses of instruction, credits and other means. Moreover, local institutes lasting a few days each were conducted by Duke University in Southern Methodist Sunday schools in North Carolina, their purpose being to give courses of instruction for Sunday school teachers. Some of the newer methods practised in certain other parts of the United States are thus being attempted in more favored sections of the Highlands.

The Community Center

The discussion of community centers may well be begun with the observation of an example illustrating work of several kinds. We will visit such a center in eastern Kentucky.

The road thither not being passable for cars, we are driven the last twelve miles in a jolt wagon, the road taking us through woods of oak and beech and lying much of the way in the bed of a creek. At length, sore and weary from the rough ride, we are landed at a two-story house of "stripped" construction - that is, one having the walls built of upright boards, the cracks between which are covered by narrow strips. Green in color and covered with vines, it is inconspicuous among the trees. We are expected; and a gentle worker, after a cordial greeting, shows us to pleasant rooms with solid, simple furniture, made, we are told, in the mission handicraft shop.

The weekly sale of garments, the worker informs us, is going on at the clothing bureau; and she leads us to a small log cabin, which originally housed the first worker at this mission. Outside it six or eight mules, with saddles, are tied to trees. A sound of reverent speech is interpreted by the worker as the closing part of a prayer meeting, which is regularly held for the women before the sales. When this is over, we are led in and introduced to the worker in charge, a broad-shouldered woman of executive bearing. Women from the hills are seated on a bench built along the sides of the room. They have brought with them vegetables, chickens, eggs and other supplies for the mission, and will now be paid in cast-off clothing sent by northern friends of the work.

The leader sets a parcel-post carton on a big table in the middle of the room, and quickly strips off the wrappings and holds up to view a brown winter coat in fair condition. Several women indicate by word or lifted hand that they would like to consider buying it. One or two try it on, and it is quickly assigned to a gratified purchaser at a price of fifty cents. Several other coats come out of the box. Some of them are taken by one woman or another. The undesired garments are expeditiously removed and another parcel is brought out. This contains summer dresses for women and girls, most of them too worn or faded to seem very useful. Every one, however, finds a customer at low prices of ten cents to a quarter apiece. The worker in charge is quick with suggestions as to how this one can be altered for Rowena and how the other can be dyed for Ella May. Among other boxes one contains many pairs of scuffed shoes; another, silk dresses, most of them in poor condition; and a third, bundles of remnants, evidently from distant rag bags. A large proportion of the articles find buyers.

The undesired residue being put away, one worker takes the women singly to balance accounts between food furnished and garments bought, entering each item in an account book under the woman's name. Meanwhile other workers bring out sewing machines, patterns and shears, and the session becomes a lesson in sewing, during which the women, under directions, make over their acquisitions for themselves and their children.

Leaving them at work, we follow little Martha, an orphan who is cared for at the mission, to the dispensary. The nurse being out on a case, Martha shows us the building. It is a little one-story structure of two rooms. The outer has an operating table, case of instruments, medicine cabinet, weighing machine, desk, and chairs for patients. The inner room has two high hospital beds for cases of illness among the mission workers or for patients from the vicinity. They are empty at present, but the white cleanliness inside and the hills and trees visible from the windows make it seem a desirable haven for any one taken ill in a crowded mountain home. Last week there was a clinic here at which the county doctor inoculated against typhoid, when both rooms were crowded.

Next there is the handicraft shop. Two neighbor women are sitting at ponderous looms, weaving towels after an ancient Highland pattern. The worker in charge of this department shows us a counter where neatly-pressed woven articles in many soft colors are ready for sale, each marked with its price. Near by are baskets, hearth brooms, wooden toys and other handmade articles.

Martha is anxious to show us the hen coops, close to a well-trodden path up a little creek, calling upon us to notice that the hens are all pure white. She stops to gather the eggs, thus giving us a chance to see how modern and sanitary are all the arrangements. Martha then points out the barn where a very expensive bull is kept, but she prefers to pass by on the other side and leads us to the public school, a new concrete building, the cost of which was divided evenly between the county and the mission. Miss Smith, head of the mission, is school trustee for the district; and one of the two teachers lives at the mission, "much the better teacher too. That woman knows everything," says our guide, "and she makes work so interesting we can hardly wait for school to begin."

Outside the schoolhouse Martha calls our attention to the slide, the swings and the basket-ball court. Then she shows us the school gardens, each plot planted and cared for by a particular 4-H girl.

Then she hurries us back to the workers' cottage, where we arrive just in time for a hearty meal, cooked by one of the workers with the help of two neighbor girls who are glad of that opportunity to learn housekeeping and at the same time make a little money. The conversation at table betrays a lively interest on the part of the workers in the doings and welfare of their mountain neighbors, and incidentally shows the visitors on how many points the mission workers touch the lives of the people about them. Holden Kelly, we hear, has received the new crutches given by a distant friend. Old Mrs. Amburgey has hunted out a quilt that was her grandmother's; and the pattern is to be copied in the work shop. A girl from the neighborhood, who has spent several years at a mission school, has won a scholarship at Berea College. Jim Murphy, over on Quarrelsome, has drawn a dead line against Hank Humphrey. A big order for hearth brooms, just received, will give work to several boys. Some children in Porcupine Hollow are so ragged that they cannot come to school. Are there any children's garments in stock that the Mothers' Club can make over for them? Much is said about preparations for a social that is to be held in the big living room that evening.

While waiting for the guests to arrive we notice a case of dull-looking books. Martha explains that they form the "circ'latin' libr'y. But," she continues, "they're just old books the owners didn't want, and we don't want 'em either. I wish they'd send some story books like teacher tells about."

The mission socials are evidently appreciated, for before long many neighbors, old and young, fill the living room. One game swiftly follows another; then the radio is turned on; and the evening ends early with several singing games, which the workers have learned at the John C. Campbell Folk School in Brasstown.

Missions that conduct one or more of the forms of work undertaken by the community center described are numerous in the Highlands. It is impossible to be sure of listing them all, since many are run by individuals on their own responsibility. In several of the counties visited during the present study, small missions were discovered of which no record would have been obtained without the personal investigation. However, counting centers reported officially by denominational agencies and centers discovered through field work or in various informal ways, 145 enterprises other than schools were identified, which were giving service of one or more kinds to particular Highland communities. At least three out of four were sponsored by some denominational agency. More than two-thirds of the denominational schools were under the care of Presbyterians or Episcopalians. Others were maintained by agencies of ten other denominations, almost all of them denominations regarded in the Highlands as "foreign."

Each of the types of service exemplified by the community center visited will now receive brief consideration.

Religious Work: Many small missions, especially those started by individuals or groups of individuals on their own responsibility, confine their attention almost exclusively to religious ministry. The forms of religious work most frequently in use are preaching services, prayer meetings and Sunday schools, in the home community and in neighboring localities; weekday religious education; young people's societies and woman's missionary societies; and personal evangelism through home visiting. Religious work is part of the program of practically all community centers of whatever kind, the most frequent forms of such activity being Sunday schools and classes in weekday religious education. Far the larger proportion of the community centers, however, concern themselves not only with the religious interests of the people but with their well-being in a variety of fields, economic, educational, social and cultural.

The Teacherage: The simplest form of mission common in the Highlands, and one of the oldest, is the home for a teacher. With the turning over of many day schools to public-school systems these have become less common. But in several sections they are still found useful. In the narrow valleys of the Central Ridges there are many localities where there is no place for a school teacher to board; and at the same time there is great need for friendly and civilizing influences. The Presbyterians, U.S., in friendly relations with the public-school authorities, have erected and maintain several teacherages in this section, their outlay being held to entitle them to a voice in the election of the teacher. In the Blue Ridge of Virginia the Episcopalians still conduct a considerable number of parochial schools. The cottages in which the teachers live house sometimes two women, either both acting as teachers, or one conducting the school while the other carries on household visiting and other forms of mission work. This kind of simple community center is also found in some localities of eastern Kentucky. In more complex community centers, a teacher in the public school, paid sometimes by the mission and sometimes by the county, is often included in the corps of workers.

The Clothing Bureau: The practice of supplying articles of clothing to the Highlanders arose very early in the history of Highland missions, springing from sympathy with the extreme poverty of the people. At first garments were given free; but the danger of pauperization soon being appreciated, the practice was adopted of making a small charge for the clothing; and this is the almost universal practice today. The custom of exchanging garments for food, each kind of commodity being valued in money terms though no cash enters into the transaction, was found in a number of places.

Some mountain workers have strong objections to the traffic in cast-off clothing. They say that wearing second-hand garments humiliates the Highlanders, that the cheap rates tend toward pauperizing them, and that the poor condition in which articles frequently arrive and the almost inevitable bad fit of the garments lower their standards of propriety and of taste. Others defend the practice by representing the saving to the poverty-stricken Highlanders, and consider that the objections may be obviated by showing the women how to adapt the garments to their new wearers.

The Health Centers: These centers, the objective of which is the warfare against disease and the promotion of health, vary greatly in scope. The simplest form of health program consists of a trained nurse, usually chosen partly for her adaptation to mission work. In emergencies the nurse tends to take patients into her home, where she can govern conditions; and a room and beds are prepared for such cases. From this it is only a step to the little dispensary with equipment for clinical work and a single ward of one or two beds, such as was observed in the community center visited. Hospitals range in size from informal buildings with only a few beds to large institutions such as those at Sewanee and Pleasant Hill, Tennessee; Banner Elk, North Carolina; and Winchester, Kentucky (the last being conducted for the Highlands, though situated somewhat outside of the region). A group of nursing centers designed to serve a very backward area is maintained by the Frontier Nursing Service, located in Leslie County and the edges of neighboring counties, Kentucky. The nurses of this Service, professionally trained in midwifery, ride horseback to the mountain homes of this district of the "land of saddlebags," where doctors are very few.

Handicraft Work: Ancient crafts of the Highlanders, still surviving here and there in early days of missionary activity, were revived and taught to the people as early as 1897, when this work was begun at Allanstand, North Carolina. The original purpose of the undertaking was to afford to the Highlanders methods of supplementing their very scanty incomes. Weaving, carving, broom-making, basketry, were taught to individuals and groups here and there, both in community centers and in mission schools; and the missions took measures to obtain markets for the wares produced. The economic reason for this work came to be reinforced by a desire to give the people the joys of appreciating beautiful things and of using their individual powers in constructive activity.

Many of the producing centers are united in the Southern Mountain Handicraft Guild, which in 1932 had twenty-four member organizations. Of these fifteen were mountain schools and a considerable number were community centers or groups of such centers. The Guild seeks to promote the common interests of the producing centers, especially by maintaining high standards, providing information and marketing products.

Several distinct kinds of articles are produced. The most important consists of woven articles, which include bedspreads, towels, luncheon sets, and the like. Revived colonial patterns are used, and particular attention is paid to securing colors that are beautiful, harmonious and permanent. Italian hemstitching is a specialty of a group of Episcopal missions in southwestern Virginia. Baskets are made in great variety, most of them of types long familiar in the Highlands. Simple articles of furniture, such as hickory chairs and stools, are produced pretty generally; and a few centers make such pieces of cabinet work as tables, bookshelves and bureaus. Hearth brushes are another common product, as are small carved articles, such as paper knives, napkin rings and toys. A few localities produce pottery. Articles of many of these kinds are made in the homes of the people; while weaving is more commonly done in the mission work shops. The handicrafts are maintained not only for the good of the Highlanders but as a source of income for the missions.

Circulating Libraries: Many community centers, recognizing the almost absolute absence in the Highlands of any kind of reading matter, make a practice of lending books to their neighbors. But the books they can obtain through solicitation are usually discards, and most of these are not particularly attractive. Some centers keep deposits of books at schools in the surrounding districts. A few efficiently distribute suitable books; but in general the results are not to be compared to those obtained in rural territory of other regions by a trained county librarian equipped with specially chosen volumes and a book wagon; but the only two county libraries in the Highlands serve the counties in which are situated the large cities of Birmingham and Chattanooga. Some states make deposits of books available to localities in Highland counties; but little use was made of such opportunities in the counties visited.

Agricultural Work: Some of the community centers take an interest in the agricultural advance of their localities. The center visited, for example, owns a pure-bred bull, which is at the service of the community. At certain missions progressive methods of poultry raising are brought to the notice of the people, not through exhortation but by exemplifying them in a conspicuous part of the mission property. Again, the mission will raise a crop of beans or potatoes, and through following the advice of the county agent as to the selection of varieties or methods of culture, will secure a crop so much greater than the local average that the people are eager to learn how such results have been obtained. The mission, moreover, not only furnishes a meeting place for the activities of the county agent, the home demonstrator and the club leaders, when such extension workers are present in the county, but also uses every means to encourage the people to profit by the opportunities offered them by these government agents.

Cooperation with Public Agencies: This cooperation with agricultural extension workers illustrates the attitude of many missionaries toward whatever public services are furnished by the state and county. The health unit finds its work facilitated by the tender of dispensary and apparatus, by preparatory explanations of the use of vaccinations, inoculation and other preventive measures, and by active measures to bring to clinics the individuals these are designed to help. Dietary and sanitary exhortation is illustrated and sanctioned by the daily practice of the missionaries. Welfare workers find at the mission both light on specific cases and favorable introductions to the individuals concerned. State institutions for the deaf, the crippled, the feeble-minded, and the handicapped of other types, are brought into contact with persons needing their form of service. Red Cross drought relief, too, was in many cases administered through the missions.

Furthermore, when a public agency offers a service once rendered exclusively by a community center, there is a tendency for the mission to relinquish that form of activity as superfluous, although such response to changed conditions is sometimes retarded.

Enrichment of Social Life: Into the individualistic existence of the recesses of the Highlands, where social relations are almost altogether informal and are confined largely to kinsfolk, the mission workers bring various forms of group activity. Without them isolated districts would have no Boy Scouts or Camp Fire Girls, no mother's club or choir or literary society. These organizations not only greatly increase the enjoyment of life for those living near the missions, but teach them the little understood lesson of how to act together. The socials at the settlement house, the frequent games, and the visits by the workers to mountain homes and by Highlanders to the center, add immeasurably to the brightness of the people's lives.

Opening Closed Doors: Most important of all, perhaps, the community center brings to the dwellers in secluded valleys a great lessening of their isolation. The very presence of the strangers serves as a constant reminder of the existence of sympathetic people outside the mountains. The clothes and manner of speech of the missionaries, with the conveniences found in their homes, and their attractive household belongings and especially their radio,- all these are in themselves enlightening, apart from the lessons imparted at the clubs and classes and Sunday schools. Promising young people are stimulated to go away to school, and are guided in the choice of their vocation. Leadership is provided in efforts for the improvement of roads and of schools. The "quare women," living among people of underprivileged neighborhoods, and sharing many of their disabilities, serve for their Highland neighbors as the first interpreters of a wider world and of a richer manner of existence.

Their efforts are in some cases seconded by the so-called "opportunity schools" conducted in connection with Berea College. On these occasions a group of teachers of varied specialities, most of them from Berea, spend a weekend in a country locality, awakening the interest of the people in a variety of subjects previously beyond their horizon.

Denominational Policies: The denominational agencies that maintain community centers look upon them as the best means of penetrating into isolated and backward sections. They start these centers, not as permanent institutions, but as introductory measures designed to prepare the way for the establishment later of organized churches with resident ministers. Most of these agencies, while conducting religious work, attempt also to offer help to the local people in various fields where need is recognized. There is growing realization of the danger of weakening the self-reliance of the people; and the importance of the personality and training of the workers is more and more recognized.

Distribution: The geographical distribution of missions other than schools is not systematic, still less is it statesmanlike. In many cases, a mission has been started because of more or less accidental recognition of a local need. A denomination that had once gained a foothold in a district tended to start other missions near the first. As there was no comprehensive knowledge either of the needy localities or of the work already in progress, the community centers, to an even greater extent than the mission schools, grew up near together in some districts while leaving even more needy sections untouched. For example, the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, though more isolated and backward than any other section of the Highlands, and at the same time considerably the most populous part of the region, had, in 1931, only three-fourths as many community centers, so far as these have been identified, as the Blue Ridge, which being more accessible is better known. The map of missions other than schools, which forms Diagram XVI, shows in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, even more than elsewhere, many large empty spaces. The Northwestern Cumberland Plateau, too, had comparatively few missions, except in certain restricted areas; and the Alleghany Plateau had almost no community work of any kind.

A particularly striking illustration of the fortuitous distribution of missionary work is that very little is done by outside agencies for the coal camps, which have been shown to have many evils and few native churches. Several denominations have each a few workers in the mining villages; but considering that the number of coal camps in Kentucky alone is reported to be over 700, and that many others are found in West Virginia and southwestern Virginia, the localities where any work is attempted form only a small fraction of the total number.

HOME MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES OTHER THAN SCHOOLS

Community Service by Mission Schools

Many mission schools, with some of the independent schools, undertake, in addition to their educational program, one or more of the forms of service described above. Eighteen are definitely known to do outstanding welfare work of some kind or other; and the number is doubtless too small. The humanitarian spirit that has brought a large proportion of the teachers to these schools does not confine itself to the schoolroom but reaches out to help the people round about in any way considered practicable. Home visiting, with all the friendly services suggested by personal acquaintance, is very general. Some schools depute certain teachers for regular work of this kind; in other cases the visiting is informal and spontaneous. Clubs of varied nature are conducted; and socials are of frequent occurrence. Several schools carry on demonstration work in agriculture. Some of these own pure-bred stock. Others introduce improved methods of growing particular crops. One conducts a cooperative for the farmers of the community. Another, some years ago, bought choice apple trees at wholesale and sold them at cost, employing progressive methods of horticulture on its own orchard. This course of action has filled the valley with trees that in 1931 were about to come into bearing, thus promising a new source of income to the farmers.

A number of schools, moreover, have nurses or infirmaries in whose service the local people share. Others have small collections of books which they are willing to lend to the general public, but which were not in great demand. Clothing bureaus were also conducted by certain schools, a few being known to draw from the proceeds a not inconsiderable share of their support.

Orphanages

The needs of orphans and other children from broken or undesirable homes have long elicited sympathy and help from a number of denominational agencies and private individuals. Orphanages, though not numerous in the Highlands, have been established in widely distributed parts of the region. Certain mission schools whose leaders believed that the end of their usefulness as educational institutions was approaching, were considering the adoption of work for this needy class of children. Formerly the inmates were taught by the institution itself: but the practice was arising of sending them to neighboring public schools.

Temporary Character of Missions

Many missions of all kinds have been discontinued, some after only brief periods of activity. A considerable number, believed to have performed their work, have been replaced by home missionary pastors. Here and there a center comes to an end at the death of the worker whose labors and personality have given it its chief value. No small number have been withdrawn because the environment has so altered that the mission is believed to be no longer appropriate to the situation. Within the last three years many missions have been abandoned because of declining home missionary funds. In such exigencies some missions have been surrendered that are considered too remote from other activities of the supervising agency to be economically administered; and others because, owing either to ill-chosen or unharmonious personnel, inappropriate methods, or insurmountable obstacles, the results achieved were not believed to be proportionate to the outlay.

Chapter IX

MISSIONARY AND PHILANTHROPIC SCHOOLS

The revised list of Southern Mountain Schools, published by the Russell Sage Foundation in 1929, named 149 schools maintained by denominational and independent agencies in the states of Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. This list, augmented by the addition of certain other schools known to be in existence, was made the basis of the present investigation. Information for all the institutions of the augmented list was sought by questionnaires sent out to each school, and, in addition, by personal visits as practicable; by inquiries from representatives of various church boards; or by investigation of available printed records and reports.

Five schools of the Russell Sage List were eliminated as outside the purview of this survey, since they lie outside the area studied.* Four of the supplementary list were omitted for the same reason.** Excluding these two small groups the total number in the augmented list for which information has been definitely sought is 150. In addition to these, information has been secured, in the general course of the study, to the prior or present existence of numerous schools of which at the beginning of the survey there was no knowledge, and which consequently were not included in the systematic investigation.

*These schools are Berea College, Madison County, Kentucky; Bethany College, Brooke County, West Virginia; Ebenezer Mitchell School, Stanley County, North Carolina; Fountain Head Industrial School, Sumner County, Tennessee; and Morris Harvey College, Cabell County, West Virginia.

**Campbell College, Harnett County, North Carolina; Fork Union Military Academy, Fluvanna County, Virginia; Hargrave Military Academy, Pittsylvania County, Virginia; and Wingate College, Union County, North Carolina.

Discontinued Institutions

There is reliable evidence that since 1921 mission support has been entirely withdrawn from at least twenty-two schools. This does not necessarily mean that these institutions are no longer in operation. Some have been relinquished to the full control of the local public-school system.* In the case of a few others, the responsibility of continuing school has been assumed, practically on faith alone, by the faculty, who hoped somewhere to find other sources of support for an institution which they believed too useful to discard.** Several are now private institutions under independent boards of control, and one such case,*** at least, is probably not properly to be classified as a mission school. Of the remainder, nothing more is known than that they are no longer maintained by the organizations which originally sponsored them.**** Forty per cent. of these discontinued schools were quite small, several being small day schools only, and a few of them being elementary schools with only one or two teachers. None had more than sixty-five pupils. The remaining 60 per cent., however, had enrollments of over one hundred pupils, the median enrollment of this group of larger schools being 150.

*Examples of these are Hiawassee Academy, Georgia; Stanton Academy, Kentucky; Lewiscot Presbyterian Institute, Virginia; Cove Creek School, Tennessee.

**Fruitland Institute, North Carolina; Clark Mt. School, Virginia.

***Greenbrier College for Women, West Virginia; expense to pupils, $700, with no provision for pupils earning part of money charge; stated function, high-grade cultural education to young women.

****In Kentucky, Athol Presbyterian School, Canyon Falls Academy, John C. C. Mayo College, Levi Mission School, and Matthew T. Scott, Jr., Academy; in North Carolina, Bad Creek School, Buladean School, and Heilman Institute; in South Carolina, Six Mile Academy; in Virginia, Baldwin Ridge School, Bethesda Mission School, Lee Institute, and Martha Washington College; and in West Virginia, the West Virginia Synodical School.

Changes in Status and Function of Retained Institutions

Types of modification other than discontinuance or complete change of auspices have taken place in missionary educational work in the mountains. There have been changes in the level of offerings, changes in function, and changes in the selection of the student body. Increasingly the responsibility for work of public-school type is being relinquished to local school systems, since, on the one hand, these are becoming able to take over the function which is unquestionably theirs, and, on the other hand, decreasing revenues make it necessary for the missions to reduce or reorganize their offerings. In cases where their support is not entirely withdrawn, school buildings are deeded to the county, a few salaries may be supplemented, or one or more teachers supplied.

In a few cases the missionary agency is today concerned chiefly or altogether with the provision of a home where at small expense, or by earning their own maintenance, children from sections that are inaccessible and are inadequately provided with schools may live while attending the public school. Such is the sole service of the following Presbyterian schools: Maxwell Training School in North Carolina, for boys, Langdon Memorial Home in Kentucky, for girls, Pattie C. Stockdale Memorial School in West Virginia, and Mountain Orphanage and Grandfather Orphanage in North Carolina. Such, too, is a chief function today of Crossnore School, Inc., in North Carolina, which has progressed in twenty years of philanthropic aid and guidance from a one-room school with a three or four months' term to a standard state-accredited elementary and high school, supported and controlled by the county and state as part of the regular public-school system. Strictly speaking, Crossnore School has today no academic department; it consists merely of boarding and industrial departments. The number of boarding pupils averages about 140, of whom about one-third are in high school. Practically all are of native mountain stock, even though some come from outside the state, sent back, in the main, by parents formerly of this section. A few are rehabilitation cases, but the number of these is limited. Hindman Settlement School, in Kentucky, bears a somewhat similar relation to the county school system. Hindman is a public school, with which several neighboring schools have been consolidated, and has a large boarding department maintained by the authorities of the Settlement, which, however, unlike Crossnore School, also pays the salaries of slightly more than half of the high-school teachers. Somewhat similar supplementation of public-school support is supplied by certain other institutions; but these two are the most outstanding in point of numbers served in such a cooperative relationship.

Examples are abundant of institutions that have relinquished part of the program of elementary or secondary instruction to the public-school system, while retaining other educational functions. Highland School, Alvan Drew School, Hazel Green Academy, Stuart Robinson School, and Sue Bennett Memorial, all in Kentucky, reported discontinuing respectively the first two grades, the first three, the first six, in the case of the last two mentioned, the whole elementary offering. Livingston Academy in Tennessee no longer offers elementary work, and the mission agency (Disciples of Christ) which supports it plans gradually to withdraw all aid as the county becomes able to conduct the school. Christ School, Pisgah Industrial Institute, Patterson School, and Dorland Bell School, all in North Carolina, now offer no elementary work below the sixth, fifth, fourth, and fifth grades respectively, while Lees-McRae College, formerly Lees-McRae Institute, also in North Carolina, has dropped its entire elementary department, and now sends the children from its Grandfather Orphanage to the local public school. Rabun-Gap-Nacoochee School, in Georgia (Presbyterian, U.S.A.), no longer conducts regular elementary work, but maintains a subfreshman class for students who come with deficient preparation for full secondary school work. Lincoln Memorial University, Tennessee, Tennessee Wesleyan College, Tennessee, and Union College, Kentucky, have all dropped the academic departments they formerly conducted.

Numerous schools, either with or without discontinuance of work on the lower levels, have added offerings on higher levels. Thus the Berry Schools, in Georgia, now include full four years of college; Lees-McRae Institute (Presbyterian, U.S.), in North Carolina, and Sue Bennett Memorial (Methodist Episcopal, South), of Kentucky, add junior college to their former secondary courses; and Asheville Normal and Teachers College, in North Carolina (Presbyterian, U.S.A.), has replaced secondary work with collegiate. Tallulah Falls Industrial School, in Georgia, Erie Industrial School, in Kentucky, St. Mary's School (Protestant Episcopal), in Tennessee, and Dorland Bell School (Presbyterian, U.S.A.), in North Carolina, have all raised their upper levels from elementary to full high-school status.

A few schools offer work in lower grades than formerly. Several of these have preferred to give a thoroughly good high-school course rather than make a pretence of collegiate work which neither their funds nor their student body were adequate to support. A few, with financial support decreased, have dropped high-school or collegiate classes without correspondingly strengthening their work on the lower levels. Schools of the latter type are probably waging a hopeless struggle against impending extinction.

In the case of a few schools, there is a distinct shift in the nature of the mission which they seek to perform. Brevard Institute, in North Carolina, for example, founded in 1895 (Methodist Episcopal, South), had as its original purpose to make available to ambitious boys and girls of the then more or less remote mountain section, the advantages of a type of schooling more advanced than and superior in other ways to that of the short-term public schools which then prevailed in this region. But the county in which Brevard is located is now crossed by hard-surfaced roads; children are transported in automobile buses to consolidated schools, one of which is within easy walking distance of the Institute; a passenger bus stops at the very gateway of the Brevard campus to pick up passengers; and the county in which it is located ranks, in respect to the training of its rural elementary teachers, in the upper 10 per cent. of all the counties in the United States. The Institute, looking about for a new group needing mission service, to take the place of the children of the local area whose needs are today supplied by publicly maintained schools, has focussed its missionary attention upon the dependent children now being thrown upon the care of society by conditions resulting from rapid industrialization in the cities of the South. Whereas in the beginning practically all the students of the school were from the county and the mountains, today less than 2.5 per cent. are from the mountains.

Blue Ridge Industrial School, in Virginia, is being pressed by its supporting organizations to have city children admitted, although the chief interest of the school is in the children of the mountains. Consequently, although preference is still given to mountain children, pupils are taken from Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, and Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, from the vicinity of Washington, D.C., and from New York State. When the school was started there was no high school in the community. Now there is a good one, and this Protestant Episcopal mission is becoming more and more a boarding school to which children in increasing numbers are coming from broken homes. It is of course obvious that new problems are thus created.

One institution, though located in the mountains, has always concentrated upon the rehabilitation of city boys from broken homes, and mildly delinquent boys under thirteen years of age. This Boys' Home, in Virginia, is not, and never has been, a mountain school in the sense that its mission is to serve the mountain people. A few boys are admitted from the neighborhood, but most of its enrollment comes from the cities of Virginia, and from some cities outside the state,- Washington, D.C., and cities in Pennsylvania, Montana, and Utah.

Other examples might be cited of mountain institutions which are now mentioning among their stated functions service to youth outside the mountains, but these three serve to represent the chief types.

MISSIONARY AND PHILANTHROPIC SCHOOLS

I. Number, Distribution, and Types of Existing Mountain Schools

Exclusive of the boarding homes, of the schools entirely supported by public funds, and of those clearly not missionary in function, 105 mission schools furnished reports of their activities through questionnaires or interviews; and the information regarding thirty-four other mission schools was gathered from denominational reports of 1931 and 1932. Unquestionably the 105 schools were in existence in 1931, when the survey was made. The continuing existence of the thirty-four at that time is not so certain, but they have been included in the map, and in the list, for whatever value their names and addresses may have.* Those schools that definitely reported are of many types, ranging from one-teacher schools with a bare handful of enrolled pupils to four-year colleges of recognized standing, and are seeking such diverse aims as: providing common school opportunities for children in remote and poor sections, giving a classical education, training leaders for religious denominations, and other aims equally distinctive. Little information is available with regard to the thirty-four mission schools gleaned from printed reports; most of them are believed to be - or to have been - small elementary schools without boarding departments.

II. Distribution by States and Counties

Of the 105 mission institutions reliably known to have been in operation in 1931, 101 were to be found in the five states, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia; only one each having been located in South Carolina and Alabama, and two in West Virginia. Why there should be more mission schools in Georgia than in Alabama's much more extensive Highland area, and especially why in West Virginia's thirty-eight Highland counties there are only two missions schools, is not clear.

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*The thirty-four doubtful mission schools are numbers 1, 4, 6, 17, 18, 19, 22, 25, 32, 41, 46, 48, 51, 62, 64, 68, 70, 73, 74, 75, 77, 80, 81, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 107, 109, 127, 128, 138. Seven schools, not included in the list given in this report, were active in 1930, according to Waller: Hiawassee College in Georgia; Camp Creek Academy, Shelton Mission School, and Upper Paint Creek Mission, in Tennessee; Glen Alpine Rural School and Sylva Collegiate Institute in North Carolina; and Riverside Institute in Kentucky. See Waller, Eugene, Church and Independent Schools and Colleges of the Southern Appalachians (Knoxville: Master's Thesis, University of Tennessee, June 1931.

Unequal distribution of mission schools within the five states where they are concentrated was to be expected, since the Highland area varies greatly in the accessibility and resources of its various sections. However, further examination reveals inequalities that are not in accord with the conditions in these sections, apparently well-to-do and self-sufficient areas being often better supplied than those more needy. Less than half of the counties, even in these five states, have any subsidized schools, - only seven of the twenty-one Highland counties of Georgia being so supplied, fourteen of the twenty-six counties in North Carolina, eighteen of the forty-one counties in Tennessee, nineteen of the thirty-two counties in Kentucky, and twelve of the forty counties in Virginia, a total of seventy of all the Highland counties in these five states.

III. Distribution by Topographical Areas

(a) The Blue Ridge: Fifty-eight of the total 139 mission schools are situated in the Blue Ridge, which sweeps across Virginia in a gradually broadening path from northeast to southwest, occupies all the mountain area of North Carolina, and spreads into each one of the entire eastern tier of counties in eastern Tennessee and into nine counties of northeastern Georgia, comprising in all some sixty-four counties, or approximately 43 per cent. of the whole Highland area, exclusive of South Carolina, Alabama, and West Virginia. The Blue Ridge is unquestionably served also by the twenty-three schools in the Piedmont and Valley counties which include some of the Ridge within their borders, so that it clearly appears that this area has a very large share of the mission educational institutions of the southern mountains. In view of the isolation which characterizes the habitable sections of much of this region, together with its propinquity to comparatively well-to-do areas in the Piedmont, as well as to its own prosperous and developed sections, such as the Asheville basin, it is not surprising that some of the earliest mission schools were founded in the Blue Ridge and that it should have more of such schools in proportion to its area than the Highlands as a whole.

(b) The Northeastern Cumberland Plateau: Second in its number of schools is the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, that most hemmed-in, internally inaccessible, poverty-stricken, and undeveloped region which occupies the eastern fourth of Kentucky, much of southwestern West Virginia, and a few bordering counties in Virginia and Tennessee. Forty-nine counties lie partly or altogether in this Plateau, approximately half of them being in the state of Kentucky. The number of mission schools situated here is disproportionately small in comparison with the number situated in the Blue Ridge, the ratio of number of schools to number of counties here being only three-fourths as great. The number of children served may not be equally disproportionate, for the median school in the Plateau appears to be somewhat larger than the median in the Blue Ridge. This is true partly because the proportion of small elementary schools is less in the Plateau region, and partly because the great majority of its mission schools offer full work from the lower elementary grades through high school. However, allowing for differences in enrollment, the fact of lesser provision in this Plateau still remains. This does not necessarily mean that the Plateau needs more schools; it may mean that the Blue Ridge needs fewer.

It is worthy of note that Kentucky has fifteen-sixteenths of all the mission schools in this Northeastern Cumberland Plateau. That Virginia and Tennessee have so few is not surprising, since only two counties in these states lie wholly in this area, but, as has been said before, there is no evident explanation of why West Virginia, with three-fourths as many counties as in Kentucky so situated, has no mission school in the whole area. More thorough study might reveal compensating advantages in the West Virginia end of the Plateau. It might, on the other hand, reveal that the present distribution of schools is largely a matter of the accident of individual initiative focussing in one area to the neglect of another which, whether or not it is able in the present to carry its own burden, may in the past have needed aid as much as any other part of the Highlands.

(c) Other Areas: With practically two-thirds of the mission schools located in the Blue Ridge and the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, and with these regions served in addition by twenty-five schools in nearby Piedmont and Valley locations, it is evident that the Blue Ridge and Northeastern Cumberland Plateau are today the chief foci of missionary educational endeavor in the southern mountains. There are very few schools in the counties that are entirely Valley, Piedmont, or Mountain Rim. Such schools as are to be found in these areas are, as has already been noted, in counties which include some of the mountain or plateau region within their borders, and through their boarding departments usually afford educational opportunities for the children of these more inaccessible localities. The Alleghany Plateau has no mission schools at all, and there is only one each in the Central Ridges and the Southwestern Cumberland Plateau. The Northwestern Cumberland Plateau, with eleven mission institutions distributed among seven counties of Kentucky and Tennessee, is the only other area with any considerable number.

IV. Types of Schools

(a) In the Central Valleys: A notable characteristic of educational missions in the Central Valleys is the high proportion of colleges among their institutions. This is especially the case in the Appalachian Valley of eastern Tennessee, where are found six of the twenty-six mission colleges of the Highlands. Here are Carson and Newman College, in Jefferson County, under the auspices of the Southern Baptists; Maryville College in Blount County, and Tusculum College in Greene County, both Presbyterian, U.S.A.; Tennessee Wesleyan Junior College, Methodist Episcopal, in McMinn County; and Milligan College, Disciples, in Carter County. Here also is Washington College, Presbyterian U.S.A., in Washington County, Tennessee, described as a "self-help vocational academy," which for lack of adequate data cannot be classified with certainty as of recognized collegiate grade. In the adjoining Valley of southwest Virginia are three more, Marion Junior College in Smyth County; and Emory and Henry College for men and Virginia Intermont College for women, both in Washington County, Virginia, the former Methodist Episcopal, South and the latter Southern Baptist; while in Claiborne County, Tennessee, where Blue Ridge and Valley meet, is Lincoln Memorial University, Independent.

The concentration of so many mission institutions of collegiate rank within the Central Valleys is probably no fortuitous circumstance. Lying in the heart of the mountains, this region is accessible to the three areas of outstanding ruggedness and sparse population: the Northeastern and Northwestern Cumberland Plateaus and the Blue Ridge. For generations young people have come down from the isolation of their mountain homes to find college opportunities and, formerly, work of academy level also, not too far away to be attainable.

Although the denominational affiliation or sympathies of these colleges are here given, it is not possible to state that these, or indeed, any of the colleges mentioned in this report, are properly to be called mission enterprises. Information has not been definitely sought as to either their sources of support or their missionary purpose, but items of fact incidentally gathered during this study show some of them to be receiving appropriations from denominational boards. Not all, even of these, have as a special purpose service to mountain youth. They do, however, furnish these young men and women with accessible college education under avowedly Christian auspices, some at least of them at levels of expense not altogether prohibitive, and some with definite provision for students who must earn their own way through college.

Besides the colleges there are few mission schools of importance in the Valleys. In the Appalachian Valley of eastern Tennessee there are perhaps seven, but not all of them offer work of secondary school grade. In the Virginia Valleys there is only one, and in the southern Valleys one or two. The Tennessee Valley mission schools are practically all in counties which are partly mountainous. Greene County, Tennessee, in this section, formerly had a number of small schools, six being in operation there in 1929; but the only one for which certain information was secured in 1931 was Horse Creek School, a two-teacher elementary school in the mountainous section of the county, with its building and one teacher furnished by the mission, and the other teacher paid by the county. It seems unlikely that this form of mission work will be required much longer in Greene County. Although far from wealthy it is, according to the Federal survey, superior in wealth per teacher, in value of buildings and grounds per teacher, extent of training per teacher, and amount of total wealth per county to the median of the five non-mountain counties of the states included in the Federal survey for purposes of comparison.* In every measure of financial competency Greene County is from approximately two to seven times as able as the poorest mountain county of Tennessee, although in no one of the respects named above is it equal to the mountain county of the state of median rank therein. Moreover, although they are far from high, the average salaries normally paid in Greene County, Tennessee, to rural elementary teachers are equal to those paid such teachers in northern Maine and Vermont, in most of Missouri, and in numerous counties of Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas and North Dakota; and the training of such teachers in this county is superior in amount to that of elementary rural teachers in most counties of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Kansas, Nebraska, both Dakotas, and large sections of Minnesota and New York State.** Furthermore, the school law of Tennessee makes definite provision, by means of a county basis of school financing and a state equalization fund, for the extension of facilities for elementary education to isolated rural children in regions where enrollments are small by reason of "mountains, water courses, or sparsely settled communities".***

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*From advance figures furnished by W. H. Gaumnitz, Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

**Unpublished data from The Federal Survey of Teacher Training (Washington D. C.; Office of Education.)

***Public School Law of Tennessee, to July 1st,1925.pp.44, 45.

In Blount County, also in the Tennessee Appalachian Valley, is Friendsville Academy, founded in 1857, which as recently as ten years ago offered two years of high-school work and enrolled some of the few high-school students then in the county. Today a county high school, located in the same town as this old academy, has a higher enrollment, and offers free a curriculum superior to that for which the academy has to charge a tuition fee. Consequently the latter draws only a few of its pupils from the local area. It serves a scattered clientele, largely denominational - forty-five of the seventy-five students being Friends, the denomination which supports the school. The purpose of this institution, as stated in its catalogue (1931-1932) is "not only to teach the ordinary academic courses, but to train the students so that they may develop to the fullest, mentally, spiritually, and physically."

Somewhat similar is Cosby Academy, in Cocke County, Tennessee, under Southern Baptist auspices. This has two elementary teachers, both of whom are paid by the county, and in addition it conducts a four-teacher high school for about fifty pupils. Included in its student body are five ministers and three missionaries all of whom have little means of support. The school places much emphasis on church activities as an aid in developing strong Christian character. The principal of the school maintains that it is not true that mission schools have served their day, since state schools are unable to furnish the religious training offered by mission schools.*

The mission school in Roane County, Tennessee, Mossop School for Girls (Presbyterian U.S.A.), on the western side of the Valley, adjoining the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau, is a boarding school and offers work only from the fifth grade through the third year of high school. Each of the fewer than sixty girls of its total enrollment is selected, first, because there is no opportunity at her home to get more than a sixth-grade education, and secondly, because she possesses qualities of real leadership. A staff of eight college graduates offers college preparatory and home economics courses in this school.

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*From a report by the principal, in Home and Foreign Fields, March, 1931.

Whether so small an enrollment justifies the maintenance of this institution is open to question, worthy though its purpose may be. Since this is a boarding school it would seem that a somewhat larger enrollment might be served with little, if any, additional cost. But it does not appear advisable to increase the enrolment by admission of day pupils, which swell the numbers in many mission schools, for Roane County is capable of taking care of its own school children, and makes quite adequate provision for them. The mission school is surrounded by accredited public high schools, six of them, and day pupils coming to Mossop would either have to travel further than the distance to the nearest high school, or else pass a high school on the way

The three mission schools just described are evidences of the decreasing need of missionary enterprise in the Tennessee Valley, so far as the mere provision of public school education is concerned. Yet in Sevier County, partly in the Valley and largely in the Blue Ridge, there are still localities which seem to call for mission aid as, for example, at Pittman Community Center, where Blue Ridge and Valley meet. Undoubtedly local conditions may justify private enterprise, even in regions which in the main seem self-sufficient. But it is important that local conditions should be carefully considered to determine whether mission schools that duplicate public school offerings, in areas where public school provision is made, should be started or continued.

There appears a tendency for mission schools that are no longer essential for the purpose of providing general elementary and secondary education, to justify their continuance for the sake of religious or denominational ends. The validity of these aims, as aims, this survey is incompetent to determine. The basis on which schools professing this aim are to be critically considered is the degree to which the realization of this aim proves compatible with the rights of the child to a general education of standard quality. This question will receive further consideration in a later section.

MISSIONARY AND PHILANTHROPIC SCHOOLS

One of the most outstanding and important of all the missionary and philanthropic schools is located in the Southern Appalachian Valley. This is the Berry School, in Georgia, or rather the Berry Schools, for within the one institution is comprised work of all levels, from the lowest elementary grade through four years of accredited college work. Only a very few pupils are in the primary grades of this school, the function of the whole elementary department being more in the nature of an opportunity, or adult, school for students old enough for college or high school, but because of poor early opportunities, having had little more than the rudiments of a fundamental course. In addition to these a practice school of primary grades, for the small children of Berry workers, is used by students preparing to teach. Outside children are not accepted.

The Berry Schools, it is evident, in no sense duplicate public school offerings, although they cover the work offered in elementary and secondary public schools. The function of the institution, as conceived by its president is clear-cut, with three elements integrated into one purpose, i.e., "To furnish both academic and industrial training for boys and girls of the mountains and rural south; to keep this training financially within reach of all who are worthy and ambitious; and to furnish a training in ideals and citizenship such as is not generally found in educational institutions."

This is the largest of all the schools of the Highlands. Its elementary or foundation department enrolls approximately 150 pupils, its high school over 500, and its college nearly 300. Its plant includes 20,000 acres of land, of which 1,200 are under intensive cultivation. Its courses, all primarily concerned with education of youth from rural and mountain homes for effective living in country communities, are both general and special, academic and vocational. Of the 8,000 men and women who have attended Berry, 80 per cent. are said to be in their home communities or in similar communities. Its graduates are to be found in every state of the southeast, as far west as the Mississippi River, and north to include Tennessee and

North Carolina; and it has drawn a few students from Arkansas, Missouri, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Virginia. The institution is sui generis. Any evaluation of its work is out of place here, as the county of its location is outside the delimited field of this survey, and no data are available other than that from questionnaires and printed circulars. But no description of missionary and philanthropic education of southern mountain youth would be complete if the Berry Schools were omitted, and a thorough-going survey of this single institution would probably be of great value as a source of principles and practice for future educational endeavor under mission auspices.

(b) In the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau: Bounded on the west by the Highland Rim, and on the east by the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau in Kentucky and the northern half of Tennessee, and by the Appalachian Valley of eastern Tennessee in the southern half of that state and in northwest Georgia and northeast Alabama, the long, narrow Northwestern Cumberland Plateau includes, in whole or in part, fifteen counties in Tennessee and about as many in Kentucky, besides a few in Georgia and Alabama. Ten schools are known to be located in that area, including four with complete elementary and secondary departments, in Tennessee; two of like kind and two others lacking the three primary grades, in Kentucky; and two colleges in the latter state. That is, in this area, which comprises roughly about one-eighth of the mountain area, are about one-fourteenth of the mountain mission schools.

These schools are more diverse in character and aim than those in any of the areas heretofore described, although, except in one case, they are occupied with work on public-school level only. The Tennessee schools are situated in two counties, Cumberland County, lying in the very heart of the Plateau in Tennessee, and Franklin County, the extreme southwest of the Tennessee plateau counties, more than half of which is in the Highland Rim.

Cumberland, a large county and altogether in this region, has more Plateau area than any other county in Tennessee. In spite of its extensive area it has only one public high school, which can be said of only six other Highland counties of the state, no one of which approximates Cumberland in size. This high school is situated in the center of the county, and is likely to be inaccessible to many children living in the more remote and isolated areas of the county, both because of distance, and because so large a percentage of the farms of this area (68.3%) are situated on unimproved dirt roads.* The population of the county is relatively small, as is its wealth which, though four times as great as that of the poorest mountain county, is less than one-seventh of that in the median mountain county of Tennessee. Cumberland County, therefore, is not yet making adequate provision for all its young people of high-school age, and probably would be very hard put to it to do so.

Under these circumstances, there seems real need for the two mission schools, Cumberland Mountain School, Methodist Episcopal,South, and Pleasant Hill Academy, Congregational, which are located here. These two schools in general are directed to the same purpose, i.e., provision of both general and practical education for the young people of this region who otherwise could not secure it. Their students come in the main from Cumberland and adjoining counties. Their high school offerings include agriculture, home economics, and commercial as well as college preparatory courses. The work of the Methodist school, Cumberland Mountain School, has in the past, to a greater extent than the Congregational, included undertakings of a practical nature, through participation by the students in the work of the school farm, the kitchen, dairy, carpentry shop, and printing press, as a means of earning a major part of their expenses through services rendered to the school. Pleasant Hill Academy, however, plans to put greater emphasis on this type of work in the future. "We must be less of an academy and more of a manual arts school. We must," says one of the school's circulars, "make an effort to extend the practical side of our curriculum. Our first aim should be to turn out graduates who will go back to their home communities and set up an example for their neighbors, rather than go to the city and enter a competition already too keen." *

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*Cf. Roane County, Tenn., 39.5% on unimproved dirt roads, Dade County, Ga., 32.7%, Laurel County, Ky., 83.2%.

Both schools avow definite religious purpose, though without sectarian bias. The Congregational institution would "not only teach our young people Christian principles, the Bible, and morality, but also help them to live practical lives," and "without making stereotyped religion predominant, would make an effort to present all of life,- work, play, church, school,- as an expression of Christ's purpose and spirit." The other institution states that, though not sectarian in character, its "whole service is shot through and through with the religious aim and motive.---Practically all students are active Christians before they leave." It "produces an unusually large number of volunteers for the distinctively religious vocations."

Both schools give figures for a large percentage of graduates going back into home communities to work, many of them as teachers; both recognize the responsibility of developing Christian leadership on the part of their students; and both, it is good to be able to note, recognize the importance of recreational leadership, the Methodist institution definitely showing the pupils by directive games how to conduct recreational work in their home communities.

Since, through the combined provision of the county high school and these two institutions, the percentage of children of high-school age attending school in Cumberland County is still slightly below the median for mountain counties in Tennessee, it does not appear that there is any excess of effort among the schools in the county. Indeed, one of the mission institutions definitely disavows any intent to repeat what is done by public agencies, but rather to supplement. Much more thorough investigation and analysis than is practicable for this survey would of course be required to determine whether, by greater effort, the county and the state might reasonably assume a greater part of the

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*Realities at Pleasant Hill, Circular of American Missionary Association, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York, N.Y., p. 7.

responsibility for general elementary and secondary education; but for meeting the immediate needs of the mountain children of this area, these schools are unquestionably offering opportunities for general education which would not otherwise be available.

Franklin County, Tennessee, is average or slightly above average in practically all respects - school facilities, teacher qualifications, financial adequacy, and educational level of its school population. The two mission schools in Franklin County, St. Andrew's School for boys and St. Mary's-on-the-Mountain for girls (both Protestant Episcopal), are within less than ten miles of one of the county's accredited high schools. It is not pertinent, however, to adduce statistics of public-school provision in relation to the need for these missions, for their function is primarily religious.

In the girls' school - which is in the main a boarding school - a college preparatory and an English course are offered in the high school. Home arts are taught throughout the course, from first grade primary to fourth year high school. Religious instruction also extends throughout the entire course, beginning with the catechism in the first primary, and continuing with graded Bible study throughout the elementary school and first-year high school, followed by church history and doctrine for the rest of the high-school years.

The boys' school offers college preparatory, business and commercial work, and shop work and draughtmanship, but though its grounds are estimated to be over 350 acres in extent no agricultural work of any kind is provided for the 125 boy students enrolled. Both these mission schools, though religious in character, "do not offer religion as a substitute for scholarship." They "are part of the provision made by this church for the training of her children for life and service, such training as shall include moral and religious nurture, according to her own principles and customs." They are, however, schools in the mountains and enrolling mountain children, rather than schools of the mountains, their offerings being in no sense differentiated in relation to the peculiar background and needs of these children, excepting in provision for emphasis on English to make up for deficiencies in the unlettered home environment.

In Kentucky the mission schools of the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau are only six in number, although the fifteen counties and parts of counties included in this region equal in extent approximately ten entire counties. Frenchburg School in Menifee County, under the United Presbyterians, offers elementary and accredited high-school work to about 200 children, and has twelve teachers, seven paid altogether by the mission and five whose salaries are partly paid by the county. The county also pays tuition for its high-school pupils. In other words, the school offers the usual work of an accredited high school, but is only partly supported by public funds. The principal of the school considers its permanent function "high-school education in Menifee County." Annville Institute, also an accredited school, in Jackson County, Kentucky, offers full elementary and high-school work to about 200 pupils, with no supplementation from county funds. The superintendent of this school, however, believes its permanent function to be "the discovery of individual character and its development;" declaring that "this is the only consistent object for denominational mission schools; the classical treatment can soon be attended to by the state." It is under the auspices of the Reformed Church. Gray Hawk Community School, another school of the Reformed Church in Jackson County, Kentucky, offers only elementary-grade work.

Alvan Drew School (Methodist Episcopal), in the Plateau section of Wolfe County, Kentucky, provides college preparatory, business and commercial, and teacher-training courses in a four-year accredited high school, and includes, besides, the upper four elementary grades. This school conducts a number of industries, a saw-mill and planing mill, a print shop, a farm of about one hundred acres, a cooperative store, and broom-making for the use of the school. It draws day pupils from fourteen miles in each direction, and boarding pupils from as far as Alabama and Florida.

Sue Bennett Memorial School, in Laurel County, Kentucky, is a junior college, having also a four-year high-school department and two elementary grades, the elementary department being dropped as rapidly as possible, a year at a time. This mission school (Methodist Episcopal, South) enrolls approximately 500 students. Although established for mountain boys and girls, the school is now not run exclusively for them, its pupils being drawn from all parts of Kentucky, twenty-five pupils from outside the state coming from fifteen states and provinces, some as far south as Florida and Texas, and some as far north as New York and Vancouver. Its expressed purpose is in no respects distinct from that of any other junior college, except for a religious emphasis as indicated by the statement "No sectarian religious instruction is given in the school but every effort is made to inculcate the highest principles of Christian character."

The sixth school of this area is another junior college under Southern Baptist auspices: Cumberland College, in Williamsburg, Whitley County, Kentucky.

Justification for the presence and purposes of these six institutions may be sought in the statistics of public educational provision for these counties, and a rough correspondence of cause and effect is discoverable. Menifee County has the lowest amount of total wealth of all the mountain counties of Kentucky, a circumstance in part accounted for by its small size. Forty-two and six-tenths per cent. of its farms are on unimproved dirt roads. Its educational provisions are meagre, its teachers' qualifications are among the lowest 10 per cent. in the nation,**and its only high school provision is the share it has in supporting the Frenchburg School.

Jackson County, Kentucky, though somewhat better in certain respects, is also extremely poor and backward. With a population approximately equal to that of

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*Advance figures from the Federal Survey furnished by W. H. Gaumnitz, Office of Education, Washington. D. C.

**Figures on salary and training of teachers from advance information from the National Teacher Training Survey.

Cumberland County in Tennessee, its total wealth is only about a third as great. Eighty and six-tenths per cent. of its farms are on unimproved dirt roads. It has no publicly-supported accredited high school, although it is somewhat superior to Menifee County in that it has two small high schools, one offering only two years of work, and the two together employing only four teachers. It ranks lowest of all mountain counties of Kentucky in proportion of high-school enrollment, and among the lowest counties in the United States in qualifications of its teachers, while in current expenditure per teacher for salaries and buildings it averages little more than half as much as Cumberland County, Tennessee.

Laurel County, Kentucky, even though 83.2 per cent. of its farms are on dirt roads, is in a somewhat better position, yet it, too, is very poor. Its population is nearly twice that of Cumberland County, Tennessee, but its total wealth is somewhat less, and its amount of wealth per teacher employed is only about two-thirds as great. In both salaries and qualifications of teachers it exceeds Jackson County, Kentucky, yet it falls below the national median for rural white teachers in both. Until quite recently there was only one public high school in Laurel County. Now there are seven, and the high-school enrollment at Sue Bennett Memorial School has increased accordingly, yet none of these is yet an accredited school, and all except one are small schools of only one or two teachers each. Many of the county teachers come to the Sue Bennett junior college in its second term for courses which will enable them to meet the state requirement for certification.

Wolfe County takes rank as the highest mountain county of Kentucky in respect to percentage of its pupils attending high school, but this can be accounted for only by the presence of Alvan Drew School and Hazel Green Academy, for there is only one public high school with two teachers and sixty-five pupils in the county. This county, too, with 76.5 per cent. of its farms on dirt roads, is extremely poor. It has about two-thirds the population of Cumberland County, Tennessee, and not quite one-third its wealth, poor as that county is.

For only one other Kentucky county of this area are statistics available for purposes of comparison, and for it the figures correspond closely with Cumberland County, Tennessee, in all the items heretofore employed as measures. From these samplings it would appear that the educational facilities in the Kentucky plateau are of a level distinctly inferior to the plateau region of Tennessee, a conclusion which is further substantiated by the fact that whereas in Tennessee every one of the counties has at least one accredited public high school, and most of them have several, there is not a single accredited public high school in the whole Northwestern Plateau in Kentucky. For the time being, at least, secondary schools under mission auspices are almost certainly serving a definite educational need of this area, particularly in Kentucky. How long such needs will exist depends on progress in means and methods of public financing for the schools of the poorer sections of the counties and the states.

(c) In the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau: In this area several denominations maintain colleges, junior colleges, or institutions called colleges. These include in Tennessee: Lincoln Memorial University, Independent, in Claiborne County; and in Kentucky: Union College, Methodist Episcopal, South, in Knox County; Pikeville College, Presbyterian U.S.A., in Pike County; Lees Collegiate Institute, Presbyterian U.S., in Breathitt County; and the Junior College of Caney Creek, Independent, in Knott County, - all five of these being actually on the college level. Two other institutions, Hazard College, Southern Baptist, and Witherspoon College, Presbyterian U.S.A., both in Perry County, Kentucky, though formerly offering collegiate work, are now only four-year high schools.

Nine-tenths of the mission schools of the Northeastern Plateau are of public-school level; approximately one-third of them are elementary, the remainder offering elementary grades and four years of high school as well. All of these, except one elementary school situated in Virginia, are to be found in Kentucky, a situation that is readily explained so far as Virginia and Tennessee are concerned, for not only are there few counties in these states that lie in the Plateau, but every one that does lie in the Plateau has at least one accredited four-year high school, and some have half a dozen or more. In Kentucky, on the other hand, not a single accredited unaided public school of secondary grade is found in the whole Plateau area. There is no one of these Kentucky counties but has at least one public high school, but throughout the whole region these are characteristically small, having usually not more than two or three teachers and having pupil enrollments well under a hundred.

One Kentucky county, Floyd, has a dozen of these small public high schools, and, probably as a consequence, ranks as the best mountain county in the state in the percentage of its population, seven to fifteen years of age, attending school. This large number of small public high schools, in a county making such a considerable effort to provide educational facilities, is almost certainly accounted for by the dissected topography of the region. Its small communities are isolated from others only a few miles away - as the crow flies - by sharp rising mountain ridges, and its chief roads out of such isolated communities follow the creek beds, frequently running through the beds of the creeks, and impassable in times of high water. This is the topographical feature which, more than any other factor, accounts for the extremely difficult problem of rural education in eastern Kentucky, and it is always in the light of this factor that the public and missionary provision for this area is to be evaluated.

Extreme poverty is another important factor. The per capita wealth of the area is very low, over half its counties being lower in that respect than Cumberland County, Tennessee, already described, though only one of them is as low as Overton County, Tennessee. The combination of isolation with poverty raises serious barriers to the provision of public education. Only by extremely efficient plans of state and county educational financing, such as are to be found as yet in very few states, can such handicaps be overcome.

Whether in the future these handicaps will be overcome in this area - and overcome they should be if our public school system is to merit its claim to democratic provision for all the nation's children - they unquestionably prevail here today, and the mission schools are filling a need which would for the present at least go unsupplied without their aid. It is noteworthy that the relationship of these mission schools to the public system in this region is commonly one of aid and supplementation by one or more of the following means, rather than by complete assumption of the educational burden: buildings furnished free to the county, which provides running expenses; secondary education supported by the mission agency, while the county carries the elementary school; primary grades dropped from the mission enterprise as soon as a county school is provided within reach of the children to be served; local boards and individuals contributing to the missionary budget; or boarding homes conducted by the mission for children too far away, or on roads too inaccessible, to permit attendance by walking or by the use of school transportation facilities.

Even with combined public and missionary funds, the secondary education offered in this area is limited in scope. Few schools have more than a college preparatory curriculum, supplemented by an occasional course in agriculture or home economics. The practical aspects of education are in the main provided only through the share the pupils take in cleaning, cooking, furnace tending, and similar chores.

Only a few of the schools have land enough for extensive agricultural work, and the occupational activities fostered, aside from housework, are chiefly fireside industries, especially weaving and furniture making. The question may be raised, and with considerable justification, as to whether the contour of the land here is at all favorable to the agricultural vocation. Nevertheless, some form of agriculture, if for sustenance only, is sure to be practiced all through the region, and one important function of the schools would seem to lie in improving the efficiency of such agriculture through adaptation to local conditions.

Nor is this function altogether unperformed.

Stuart Robinson School, in Letcher County, Kentucky, (Presbyterian in U.S.), is using its twenty-five-acre farm as a demonstration project in connection with extension work of the State University. With the approval of the state educational agencies, a program has been developed for the school, by which four days a week are devoted exclusively to classroom activities, and two to the work schedule. In this school, too, excellent adaptation is being made of the home economics offerings to the needs discovered in the homes through visits by the teachers of that subject. Witherspoon College, in Perry County, Kentucky, (Presbyterian in U.S.A.), definitely adapts the instruction in its agricultural course to apply to steep slopes instead of to the level fields for which agricultural textbooks are commonly written; and is engaged in educating the community, through demonstration and promotion, to the suitability of Jersey cows and Golden Delicious apples for the hillside farms.

Hindman Settlement School, in Knott County, Kentucky, makes its chief contribution to education in the Plateau by furnishing a home where, under wholesome and refining influences, more than a hundred boys and girls from eleven counties of southeastern Kentucky may live while attending the county high school on the Hindman lands. The beautiful mountain-side campus, with its inexpensive but lovely and well-cared-for flower beds, and the half-dozen brown board cottages which house its boarding children; the big homey living room with its open fire, where the young people gather for simple recreational experiences, including singing of the old ballads to the accompaniment of the dulcimer, but including too the "brought-in" music of the piano, glee club, camp fire activities, games, folk dances, reading, conversation,- these do much to set standards of living which are not unachievable for the mountain communities back to which many of its young people go, but which furnish lighthouse goals for those young people for many years to come.

Other institutions, too, are setting ideals of beauty to be achieved through use of mountain resources. The buildings of Witherspoon College, set in a level basin with mountains all about, are all of great logs, and the chapel is a remarkably beautiful structure, with its Gothic arches, pillars, and carvings all constructed of native wood by native craftsmen. Said a neighborhood woman to the survey agent, "When they first put those buildings up, we wondered why they didn't use lumber, like other wooden buildings in the town, but now we like these best." Caney Creek Community Center buildings, too, are beautiful, almost every one with some touch of the mountains in materials or furnishings. One is stone three-fourths of the way up, then logs; another all stone. Some smaller buildings are rustic. It is said that this institution, in Knott County, Kentucky, was dropped from the Southern Association of Colleges because that organization insists on steel construction. Whether true or not, the story illustrates the sheer folly of applying to one situation standards set up altogether in the light of the needs of another situation entirely different.

Just as beauty and right call for buildings in the open country and in the mountains built in harmony with the conditions and utilizing the resources of the environment, do they not demand that the education by which children's lives are molded shall harmonize with and utilize the experiences all about them? Caney's practice and theory answers this question with a strong negative. Its course is distinctly a classical course. There is no home economics course, no agriculture. The institution seeks to train leaders for the mountain people, by selecting promising young people, giving them strong preparation for college, and sending them through college into the professional schools, from which they are pledged to return to spend their lives as leaders in their native mountains, this as the only payment they make for their total education, which is completely financed by Caney Creek Community Center. Home economics, agriculture, or other practical courses are regarded as but delays in the student's progress into and through college, and are relegated to the consumption of those with lesser mental qualities than this institution seeks to attract and to develop.

Other schools in the area, with no such clear cut aim as animates the Caney Schools, nevertheless mold their offerings along formal lines to a questionable degree. One institution, reported as staffed with teachers unusually imbued with the spirit of service and making definite effort to relate its work to the needs of the community, and with only three teachers for high school work, offers a curriculum consisting of one and a half years of algebra, one of geometry, one of biology, one each of ancient history, United States history, and civics, four of English, two of French, two of home economics, and two of agriculture. Apparently the purpose of this combination was the satisfaction of college entrance requirements for the three graduates who in 1931 went on to college. The school is reported as accredited. Each of the three instructors was charged with one of the formal requirements as well as with others more clearly related to the pupils' needs. Thus the teacher of science and agriculture taught also mathematics; the teacher of home economics and social sciences of course had charge of ancient history; and the English teacher taught French. It is to be hoped that each of these had worked out some clever device by means of which the "steel construction" requirement was met with the least sacrifice to the harmonious development of lives in harmony with the circumstances of their living.

To summarize, public schools in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau are underdeveloped and ill-equipped because of poverty and handicapping environment; mission aid is being applied mainly to the provision of education of elementary and secondary school levels and the maintenance of boarding homes; limitation of resources narrows offerings; and offerings tend to be formalized in the effort to meet accreditization standards based on college entrance requirements.

(d) In the Blue Ridge: In spite of the isolation of many of the pockets of the Blue Ridge where small groups of people find habitation, this section is financially almost twice as able to support public schools as is the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, a fact which is reflected in its better roads and its much greater development of secondary schools. There is no Blue Ridge county, whether in Tennessee, Virginia or North Carolina, which has not at least one four-year high school; many have five or more. Through the greater part of this area mission schools must justify their existence on some other score than the need of children for fundamental and academic education not within the immediate ability of the states to supply.

The mission colleges and junior colleges of the Blue Ridge,- Young-Harris College, Methodist Episcopal, in Georgia; Mars Hill College, Southern Baptist, Lees-McRae Institute, Presbyterian U.S., Asheville Normal and Teachers College, Presbyterian U.S.A., and Weaver College, Methodist Episcopal, South, all in North Carolina; and Hiwassee College, Methodist Episcopal, South, in Tennessee, - all can lay claim to making college education accessible to young people of small means at costs within their ability to pay, either by means of a lower scale of tuition and boarding fees or through provision for earning part or all of their expenses. Whether there is unnecessary duplication among these colleges, those in the Valleys already named, and those in the adjacent Piedmont (viz. Reinhart College, Methodist Episcopal, South, and Piedmont College, Independent, in Georgia; and Davenport College, Methodist Episcopal, South, in North Carolina); whether all or any of these overlap functions already adequately performed by publicly supported institutions in their respective states; whether the instruction they offer is of high grade in spite of low fees; whether the desired ends might be better achieved by scholarships in state or private non-denominational colleges - these questions affecting all the Highland area can be answered only on the basis of careful study of the whole college offering of the states concerned, and the college needs of the youth of those states. They should be asked - and answered.

The whole question of junior colleges needs to be gone into at this time. As public school systems increasingly take up the responsibility for secondary education, there is a strong tendency for old and well-equipped missionary institutions to move from secondary to junior college levels. With limited means and extreme inequalities of needs in various areas, and with the new type of school yet in its infancy, efficiency and economy would seem to call for a greater degree of cooperative planning in the future than has characterized much of the missionary work of the past.

MISSIONARY AND PHILANTHROPIC SCHOOLS

A striking feature of the missionary educational work in the Blue Ridge, and one which merits critical consideration, is the concentration here of mission schools offering work of elementary grade only. Of thirty-two such schools in the entire Highlands, nineteen are in the Blue Ridge. The area having the next largest number is in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau where there are eight such schools, leaving only five such mission schools for all the remainder of the Highlands.

In the Plateau, elementary mission schools have tended to be organized with a secondary department also, and with boarding facilities set up to accommodate children from inaccessible homes. That this has been done to a lesser degree in the Blue Ridge may be due in part to the fact that here secondary education is more generally provided at public expense, and that the concomitant emphasis on consolidation, designed to promote the concentration of enough pupils to make a high school economically practicable, has tended to an abandonment of the small groups living too far off the main highway to make their way to the school bus furnishing transportation to the consolidated school.

Some evidence for this explanation is found in the school laws of Virginia, in which state the elementary schools of the Highlands are concentrated, fourteen schools lying in the Virginia Blue Ridge, and four others in Virginia counties outside the Blue Ridge. The statute law of this state "requires the State board of education to guard by regulation against such a multiplicity of schools as will cause a low grade of instruction in them, or otherwise impair their efficiency. School boards are therefore urged, and it is their duty, to cooperate with division superintendents in preventing the establishment and maintenance of small ungraded schools, especially where such schools are not absolutely necessary." * This section is capable of use by an ostrich-minded superintendent to justify his neglect of an inconveniently located area. That it is not designed to exculpate him for such neglect, is found in a further section of the law:

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*Virginia School Laws, May, 1930, p. 34

MISSIONARY AND PHILANTHROPIC SCHOOLS

"School boards are required to furnish to all eligible children facilities for elementary training either through schools conveniently located, or through the transportation of pupils to consolidated schools."*

Doubtless there may be a few situations, where a sufficient number of children for the smallest social group compatible with genuine educational experience can be assembled only by provision of a boarding home, which may be accepted as justifiable missionary enterprises. But in the case of those schools without boarding departments, drawing their pupils from a local area within walking distance, it is difficult to see why the county school system might not organize and conduct such a school as readily as the mission agency, especially when, as is sometimes the case, the mission school is an affair of only one teacher and a seven months term.

There is justification for inquiring whether the presence of the mission may not serve as a continuing excuse on the part of the public authorities, who are perhaps not unwilling to leave to any one who may shoulder it the difficult, even though not impossible, task of providing school facilities for the more remote situations under their jurisdiction. On the other hand, there is evidence in some situations that the public authorities are not satisfied with the type of work that the missions are doing in these small schools, and would prefer to take the work over if the latter would withdraw. Whether the full responsibility for elementary school education should be assumed in the Blue Ridge today by a missionary agency is very much to be doubted. Scrutiny of the laws of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia will reveal that each of these states has made definite provision for state and county support of elementary education in needy communities. Missionary and philanthropic agencies might render a better service by promoting a campaign of public education to insure the utilization of existing provisions, and to improve state methods of school support where effective legislation waits to be enacted.

*Virginia School Laws, May, 1930, p. 35

A feature of certain missionary elementary schools which is unquestionably open to criticism is their emphasis on "industrial work" this being interpreted to mean skill in sewing or in other wage-earning occupations. It is today a commonly accepted principle that vocational education has no place in the elementary schools, since the elementary-school child is too young to be in a position to choose, and society has not the right to condition him for, a special vocation.

There is an unpleasant suggestion, in an offering of "elementary and industrial education" to a young child, that the patron regards this child as a different order of being from other children,- not eligible to education of broad scope, but foreordained to be a servitor of those more fortunately predestined. This implication was perhaps less true of such schools in the past than in the present, since it is likely that much older girls and boys made up the elementary school then than are commonly found in it today. There is danger, however, that a type of training appropriate for an earlier group may by custom continue to be followed to the hurt of the present student body.

These strictures on "industrial education" in elementary schools do not mean that occupational activities find no place on this educational level. Quite the contrary is true. In superior elementary schools today children sew and weave, hammer and saw, cook, paint, work with clay and cement, and engage in many other types of manual activity. The purpose of all this is, however, in no case to develop skilful producers along these lines. It is to extend and make substantial the child's understanding of his environment, to develop his appreciations and his interests, and to make of him a more intelligent and socialized consumer of the world's goods. It is conceived as a liberalizing process, whereas too early emphasis on specific productive skills tends to an exactly contrary effect.

Active occupations play a large part in the work of two outstanding institutions of the North Carolina Blue Ridge, both concerned with the education of youth in the teens and early twenties. These are the John C.

Campbell Folk School in Clay County, North Carolina, and the Asheville Farm School in Buncombe County, North Carolina. Both of these have dared to throw off the formal body of materials, developed in relation to the educational philosophy and psychology and to the differently selected student body of an earlier day, and have attempted to find means and methods of education appropriate to the students they serve and to the needs and conditions of life today. Folk School finds these materials in the economic and social life of the community and in the school family; in the creation of beauty by means of mountain crafts, and in the experience of beauty by living in the midst of it; in song and literature and history that interprets the present lives of the learners; and in such training in the tools of reading, numbers, and language as are required for day-by-day needs. It has in the past given more effort to upbuilding the local community than to instruction of its students, but this has been done because only through experience in a developing community can young men and women learn to be constructive members of such a community. Folk School casts aside the demands of college-entrance requirements. It refuses to undertake this function, referring prospective students who desire it to the many public schools which make it their chief aim.

Asheville Farm School, Presbyterian, U.S.A., has not yet broken with accreditization, since, so far, it has received accreditization for its experimental program. Its educative materials consist of all the productive occupations which can be carried on in its present plant, including dairying, crop raising, orchard culture, canning, farm mechanics, landscape architecture, house building, plumbing, electrical wiring, printing, automobile mechanics, housework in the dormitory and the hospital; and also any academic or cultural training the student feels the need of, from practical computation and English usage, to French and etiquette. The method is chiefly activity guided by individual instruction.

Several other institutions in the Blue Ridge give much emphasis to crafts, but few of them have any clear-cut idea of the place of crafts in education. In some cases they are carried on as a productive industry to support the school or the student while attending school, but current prices for the articles produced return a very low wage. In others the school parallels instruction of children with instruction of mountain men and women in crafts which the latter find a source of greater income than they could otherwise secure without leaving their native hills. But the school makes little use of the industry going on about him as an environmental experience for the enriching of the child's social understanding or his aesthetic appreciation. A case in point was a teacher, teaching woods and wood products as part of a textbook course in forestry, who had never called the attention of her pupils to the beautiful furniture being made of native woods in the shop on the school grounds.

The place of crafts in mountain education needs careful study. They may be a means of general or of vocational education. For general educational value their use would involve sufficient participation in a given craft to promote appreciation of it as a means of living in earlier days and as a form of beauty, and they would be employed as a means to the comprehension of design. As a result of such experience, the learner might engage in similar production as a hobby, or might derive from it an interest leading to the seeking of further knowledge or contacts with other art products.

As a vocation, the pursuit of a craft involves complicated factors. Opposition to handwork in competition with machine production, assumes the existence of an adequate market for labor, which as yet we do not have. Persons who, by force of isolated abode, are unable to pursue an occupation of high remuneration during part or all of their time, may do better with hand production than with idleness, especially if they have the craftsman's joy in the work and have developed creative ability with respect to design, color, and form. If the product is to be standardized, however, there appears to be little place for the artist's spirit.

V. Functions Performed by the Mission Schools

The foregoing account has revealed a range of functions which the mission schools seek to discharge.

1. The commonest of these is education of the type which is ordinarily afforded by the public schools, but which is not provided for in a special situation. It has been shown that this condition tends to exist where local communities are made very poor by inadequate natural resources in the environment. This, however, is not necessarily a function that must be permanently performed for such a situation by an outside agency, thus definitely reducing the community to a pauper level.

One alternative, which the Federal survey of this area will probably point out, is to bring private occupation of the area to an end through government purchase for use as state or national parks or for reforestation. In those areas, particularly in the Blue Ridge, which at present have the lowest available wealth for maintaining a resident population, but which are highly suitable for public recreational use, this process has been going on for several years past; and the Tennessee Valley development, as projected by President Roosevelt, involves its extension on a large scale.

An extremely important educational alternative is the improvement in methods of taxation and distribution of school funds so as to provide truly universal public education. The state of New York is one of two or three states which are using the so-called "Mort plan," devised to stimulate local initiative and at the same time provide such additional state support as might be needed in any local situation. If it should prove that states differ too much in economic resources to make this a possibility in every state, Federal aid would be a next resort. It is suggested that socially-minded individuals and groups may conceivably render a better service by leading the public to a realization of its responsibilities and the more efficient modes of fulfilling them, than by stepping into the breach and shouldering the burden which the whole community should carry.

In the interests of the children involved, however, withdrawal of philanthropic provision for schools should be proportioned to the advance made in educating the public to carry its own burden. This is especially true at the present time, when the whole economic system is so awry that emergency measures are widely needed.

2. Advance of educational provision, as from the elementary to the secondary, or from the secondary to the junior collegiate, is frequently observed as public agencies take up their responsibilities. In this field also it would seem that the mission might regard its contribution as temporary, and seek to bring nearer the day when the public would extend its support to other public educational needs at present unmet.

3. Adult education, and education of youth not likely to be benefited by a conventional college education, are new fields in which pioneering is needed, and pioneering is usually private before it is taken up by the general public.

4. Pioneering in general is a function the missionary or philanthropic interest may justifiably undertake. Education as it is generally conducted at present is under serious fire. It is recognized as outworn and as unadapted to modern needs, but its mold is largely fixed by the materials developed in accord with its past plan. The discovery or development of new materials, and the adjustment of materials to various groups of learners, are outstanding needs. With respect to any extreme groups, such as children of foreign parentage, children of isolated areas, children of rural rather than urban background, and many others, special adaptations are needed which can be developed only through much practical experimentation. Here lies an important function waiting to be performed, and here the missions may make a contribution, not only to the mountains and the underprivileged, but to education of rural children in general.

At the present time, however, only a few schools are undertaking this function. On the whole, the educational offerings are conventional and traditional, showing strong effects of college-entrance requirements. Every secondary school except John C. Campbell Folk School and Asheville Farm School offers a college preparatory curriculum, but curricula in agriculture and home economics are found in only 25 per cent. and 50 per cent. of the schools respectively. Forty-three per cent. of the schools have not even one course in agriculture, and 24 per cent. not one in home economics, but 95 per cent. provide geometry and 95 per cent. algebra, 73 per cent. giving two or more years to algebra. Two secondary schools actually offer trigonometry, while only four give economics or sociology, or both. Music is provided in 60 per cent. of the schools, but Latin is offered in 84 per cent., four years of this subject being given in 13 per cent. of the schools. Offerings in science are fairly heavy, every school giving at least one course, the modal provision being two years' work in this field, in 25 per cent. of the schools; while 18 per cent. offer three, four, four and a half, or five years. Next to English, the most numerous courses are in history, the provision ranging from one to five years of this subject (three years being the mode) in 29 per cent. of the schools. Sixty per cent. of the schools offer from two to four years of a modern language, usually French, though in 9 per cent. of the schools Spanish is offered, either with or without another language. In only one case is this other language German.

Not only is the subject matter in these schools conventional in type, but the instruction is in the main distinctly formalistic. The 110 classes observed were about equally divided between elementary grades and higher schools. Seventy-seven were rehearsal, drill, or test lessons based on textbook material alone, nine were supervised study of textbook material, and one was a lecture. Four classes were reporting on supplementary reading or investigation beyond the confines of the textbook. Two lessons, both of distinctly superior quality, were concerned with the development of literary appreciation. One class was dramatizing a story. In one single instance the discussion of the day was organized about a problem drawn from the textbook. There were eight cases in which some form of manual activity was in progress under teacher guidance, five of these being either a home economics or an agriculture class, one a primary-grade modeling lesson, one an "art class" where several different pieces of work were going on at the same time, and one an intermediate group, which was cleaning, painting, and otherwise decorating an old storeroom to make a homelike classroom for themselves.

In ten cases teachers offered information from books other than the text, but in only one case observed did a pupil do so. Two teachers, but no pupil, brought in material objects of illustrative value. There were twenty-one cases in which pupils mentioned their own personal experiences in connection with the lesson of the day, nine of these instances occurring in one period in the class of a particularly provocative teacher. Thirty times in this same class the teacher related the class discussion to the out-of-school experiences of the children, whereas only twenty-three other cases of such overt relation by the teacher were noted in all the other classes observed. In ten cases children asked questions of the teacher, and in seven they made other voluntary contributions.

In many of the classes no assignment was made while the observer was in the room, but every assignment heard was arbitrarily made by the teacher, and in practically every case it was the next lesson in the book or the next few pages. Occasionally the new work was developed to the extent of a brief explanation of meaning, especially when textbooks were difficult for the pupils using them. In only two cases were any special assignments made to individual pupils, and in three other cases attention was directed to library materials.

5. If the tone of living is improved and it unquestionably is, in most of the mission schools, the home life provided by the school rather than the school curriculum deserves most of the credit. The boarding home is indeed one of the soundest educational agencies of the missions. Although in some cases children are probably overworked in the participation required of

them, education of high value is generally afforded by the experience of contributing to a higher standard of living for the whole group, through performance of the varied duties of home and farm under wise guidance, especially where, as in some schools, tasks are rotated over periods of four to six weeks. Moreover, contact in all the aspects of daily living with the amenities of life, as illustrated by the refined, cultured, and socially-minded teachers and housemothers in many of the schools, is an additional educational factor unequalled in day schools. Here, rather than in the "spiritual" or "religious" quality of the teachers, is the great advantage the good mission school has over the good public school. It is an experience that one would wish for all children.

It is much to be regretted that no evidence was seen of an attempt to relate the socializing experiences of living made possible by the boarding homes, with any of the instruction observed in the classrooms. School was as divorced from life as in communities where the teachers have no way of knowing or of sharing in the pupils' lives outside the classroom.

6. In most of the church schools, explicit religious education is accepted as a function, definite avowal being made of having character development as one of the purposes of the school. One of the finest expressions of this purpose was "to give a vision of Christianity that serves in daily living." But in different schools, with different leading spirits, this takes a variety of forms. "Christian parents," says one "should not consider placing boys or girls in any other than a thoroughly Christian environment when away from home." The implication is that a church school is the only "thoroughly Christian environment." But is the implication justified, or is it only a slogan useful in drumming up trade for a school that needs students?

Much emphasis is put on "developing Christian character," but too implicit faith is put in mere Bible study as a means to this end. One mission school, with this idea strongly advanced, was perhaps the dirtiest, most ill-taught, and most ill-disciplined school observed. As the visitor approached the building a high-school instructor could be heard screaming for order. Children were discourteous, stoves were rusty, walls were defaced with scribbling. In contradistinction, the home life at such non-church institutions as Hindman in Kentucky and John C. Campbell Folk School in North Carolina was unquestionably an outstanding means of character development, and this was true also, of course, of such church-maintained institutions as Stuart Robinson in Kentucky, Konnarock in Virginia, or Lees-McRae in North Carolina.

Another aspect of the "religious" purpose is expressed as the training of religious leaders for the church which supports the school. It is extremely questionable whether this is a legitimate function for a school which is seeking to take the place of a public school till the local community is ready to carry the responsibility. It is a form of predetermination of a young person's thinking which tends to achieve its ends by narrowing rather than broadening his outlook. The question is too large for adequate discussion here. It is the whole question of the place of the parochial school. Institutions with this end are definitely parochial.

That there is a place necessary for training Christian, even denominational, leaders is granted. Candidates for the ministry, missionaries preparing for their work, those who would be deaconesses, and other such leaders, have need for appropriate training. But the crux of the difference is that these mature persons have set up this purpose for themselves and seek the training. It is a question whether they should receive it in the same school and in the same classes with children who are there for purposes of general education.

Furthermore, institutions which set this as a prime purpose owe it to their students to afford them a thoroughly good general education. Just as scholarship may be said to be no substitute for religion, so religion alone cannot take the place of improvement of living through sound and broad general education. Evidence is not wanting that institutions which most strongly claim religious value are frequently among those most deficient in thoroughgoing general educational quality.

Obviously, the claim of superior Christian character among teachers in the mission schools is almost if not entirely impossible to substantiate. No light is thrown on this matter by the available data on places of training of the two groups. If the fact of having received one's education in a denominational school were an earnest of superior character, then the public schools sampled have somewhat the better of the situation, 42 per cent. of their teachers coming from denominational institutions, as against 34 per cent. of the mission school teachers. Percentages for the two groups are almost identical with respect to having been educated in a State Teachers College, approximately 7½ per cent. of each having such training. Incidentally the evidence here is strongly to the effect that the State Teachers Colleges are doing little to furnish teachers for the schools of the Highlands, whereas the mission schools are doing a great deal.

With respect to other sources from which the Highland teachers, public and private, are drawn, the chief difference is with respect to high-grade private colleges and universities. From such institutions as these come 19 per cent. of the mission school teachers and about 4½ per cent. of the public school teachers. Next to denominational schools as a source of supply rank the state universities and colleges, from which are drawn 32 per cent. of the mission teachers and a slightly larger proportion, 38 per cent., of the public school teachers. Altogether, private institutions, including denominational schools and private colleges of various degrees of excellence, furnish about 54 per cent. of the teachers in the public schools of this area, and 60 per cent. of the mission teachers.

VI. General recommendations

1. There is need of a high type of professional leadership in the mission work. Education is a profession, requiring professional qualifications. Mission school heads frequently have theological training but

little or no preparation for constructive leadership in the educational field. Mission bodies might do well to include supervisors on their staffs, with training especially designed to prepare them for this field.

2. Economic features of the work require more careful attention today than ever. Schools are decreasing in size for lack of scholarship funds for worthy students, or are being closed altogether on account of inadequate support. Thorough economic reorganization would probably make great savings possible. The schools are, in the main, small. Could they be made larger by consolidation without sacrificing any present advantage? Perhaps in a given area several two-year high schools, to keep education near home for younger children, might serve as feeders to a central, but somewhat more remote, senior high school or junior college. Schools are spreading over too many offerings for a few pupils. Staffs are often larger than can be afforded even in good public schools. Can economies be effected by improved internal organization? Here and there new schools are starting which duplicate existing efforts, and are seeking for their new enterprise support which may have to be withdrawn from those already established. Individual initiative in establishing new institutions should seek criticism from group judgment. A high degree of cooperation in planning is desirable. This planning is today greatly facilitated by the data assembled by the Federal Survey.

3. Mountain mission agencies and State agents of education each need to know better the work that the other is doing. Both have the same large aim and both are concerned with the same young people. Cooperative, rather than isolated planning is essential for highest efficiency. In this the missions must make the first advance.

4. A critical attitude to every phase of the work is highly desirable. A new economic and social order may lie but a little ahead. Established ways of thinking and behaving almost certainly need adjusting. Take nothing for granted. Continually apply the touchstone "to what end?" Why am I doing this? What purpose is served? Is it worth serving? Could I with the same

time and effort serve a worthier purpose? "Prove all things. Hold fast to that which is good." But do not hesitate to reject that which fails to prove itself.

Chapter X

CONCLUSION

To the general reader the southern Highlanders are interesting as "contemporary ancestors" and as a romantic and appealing race. Many readers have, in addition, a practical motive for interest in the Highlands because they are connected with some missionary enterprise designed to aid the region either as denominational executives, missionary workers on the field, or contributors to the support of the cause. Such practical interest is especially great at the time of writing, since the resources both of the individual donors and of the responsible boards are so curtailed that extreme economy is essential. Many of the interested persons are asking themselves such questions as the following:

Do the Highlanders really need missionary help today, in view of the radical changes that have taken place in their environment?

Is the traditional religion of the Highlanders adequate for the needs of these people, or does it require modification?

Of the two groups of denominations conducting missionary activities in the region, which is better adapted to the task?

Are the large sums devoted to missionary work in the Highlands expended so as to accomplish the greatest possible amount of good where help is most needed, without waste or duplication?

Are the missions responding to changes in conditions by readjustment, redoubling of effort, or withdrawal, according to the requirements of each local situation?

In behalf of the persons so vitally concerned, the findings of the present study that bear on the problems stated above will be assembled,* so that in their light the interested agencies or individuals may form their own conclusions as to what ought to be done.

Continuing Needs

Striking as have been the changes for the better in roads, in schools, and in provision for public health and for agricultural improvement throughout the more accessible sections of the Highlands, the transformation is hardly more than begun in the more secluded sections of the Appalachian plateaus. Here many counties still have but one stretch of surfaced road in their whole extent; the children of many townships are out of reach of high school, and even of elementary school during the months of worst weather and roads; sanitation is lacking and disease is prevalent; deeds of violence are condoned; political corruption is taken for granted; and families live each to itself in discomfort and squalor upon the bare means of subsistence raised upon their small and sloping farms. For such districts to provide for themselves the facilities of better-favored rural territory is impossible for two reasons: they do not realize their needs; and even if they did, they are too miserably poor to supply them. Moreover, the states, parts of which lie within the Highlands, have resources too limited and responsibilities too heavy to allow them to carry the entire burden of developing their Highland sections, especially since in most cases these sections are too large.

In such territory it is still necessary to show by illustration the desirability of better schools; to awaken public sentiment in favor of spending money for improved roads, agricultural agents and health units; to train up local leaders; and to exemplify more healthful, convenient and beautiful conditions of living.

That isolated and otherwise underprivileged districts will long continue to exist, follows from the fact that many counties have already bonded themselves heavily to finance the roads, schools and other facilities now completed or in course of preparation; so that further progress in the near future will necessarily be limited. This seems particularly probable in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, where the topography is not well adapted to the development of industry. Where the work of civilization has already made progress, the advance has been partly owing to the influence of missionary ministers and teachers. Where the task is still to be undertaken their services may be expected to further it.

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*Most of the facts briefly summarized here have been stated more fully in earlier chapters of the book.

The more accessible sections of the Highlands have many counties that still lack agricultural extension representatives, health units and welfare workers. The presence of improved public school systems does not obviate the necessity for providing specialized schools for training students having needs and objectives to meet which the public schools are not adapted. Farm schools, industrial schools, folk schools and the like, can only be supplied at present through denominational or private initiative.

Furthermore, where such services as those of county agents, club leaders, health units and welfare workers are present, the families away in the secluded valleys and hollows do not readily come into profitable relations with them. Highland ways are rooted in long tradition and are therefore hard to change. The mountaineer is very independent, very individualistic; he does not readily recognize that new ways are desirable, especially new ways involving cooperation. To change these attitudes, personal and friendly contacts with wise friends exemplifying new ways in the home neighborhood, over a long period of time, has so far proved the most effective means. This has been and is still a time-consuming function of the teacher in the mission school, of the worker at the community center, and of the home mission pastor and his family.

Although the Highlander has a sincere and vital religious faith, yet in the presence of changing environmental conditions the old forms of religion are showing signs of inability to hold their own. The churches of primitive sects are dying out in some districts where they once held the field; and even where they are still strong they are the churches of the older people, without power or very strong desire to take those of the younger generation into membership, still less into positions of leadership. Indigenous churches of more progressive denominations are permeated by ancient theological dogmas, and are crippled by a traditional standard of low church expenditures and by an uneducated ministry. At the same time new freedom of contact with the churches of neighboring larger centers, and with newspapers, denominational papers and other periodical literature, and to a limited extent the hearing of radio services, is introducing novel conceptions as to what churches may do. Moreover, the press, the radio and many informal lines of communication bring in distorted versions of scientific theories and the contagion of the prevailing secular spirit. In view of these things and in the face of mobility of movement and the superior attractions of moving pictures, ball games and other new interests, some of the churches of the Central Valley have already experienced a decline in attendance. Insistence by preachers on the authority of biblical phrases traditionally interpreted predisposes young people coming into contact with science at high school either to slack and hazy thinking, or to mental conflict, and not infrequently even to a break with the religious influences of their childhood. Indications like these, though not yet universal, show that the indigenous church is in danger unless assisted.

Two Sources of Missionary Activity

This need of outside assistance has long been recognized, and response to it has been made by two principal groups of denominations. The stronger of the denominations in whose historic field of activity the isolated parts of the Highlands have been included, have furnished their own churches for a long time with supervision, ministerial supply, evangelists, Sunday school literature and other forms of cooperation. Where denominations with a strong centralized polity predominate, as in the Alleghany Plateau and the

Central Ridges, standards of expenditure, ministerial education and church program have been raised in some measure. Denominations of congregational type, dominant among the individualistic Highlanders in the Northeastern and Northwestern Cumberland Plateaus and in the Blue Ridge, have by their nature exerted a less effective influence.

Several of these strongly entrenched denominations have long furnished and still furnish home mission grants to some ministers serving weak charges. Though these subsidies are small, taken together with salary payments from an average of four churches, they make it possible to supply for these charges ministers with education and ability somewhat above the average for the region. Relatively more of the churches aided in this way have progressive methods of religious education and societies for women and for young people. Besides making home mission grants to ministers, these denominations maintain in the Highlands a considerable number of schools, with a few orphanages and hospitals.

In their work in the Highlands these long-established bodies have several advantages. Their ministers are to a considerable extent natives of the Highlands, and are practically all of southern birth. Their religious attitudes and practices are accordingly not very different from those of the Highlanders to whom they minister. Their veneration for the Bible, for example, might well be expressed in similar terms; and they believe in the importance of a sudden conversion, and seek to induce this form of experience through the familiar protracted meetings. They are therefore likely to build on the religious experience and convictions the people already possess. Moreover, since they are not regarded by the Highlanders as foreigners, no time or effort has to be spent in breaking down a wall of prejudice. And finally, the existence of district supervisory officials and of ready-prepared denominational machinery, with the comparatively short distances between missionary headquarters and the field, all tend toward economy and efficiency.

On the other hand, the preachers of long-established denominations frequently fail to realize, as their published reports give evidence, that the Highlands form a region with peculiar needs that require carefully adjusted and very costly treatment. If they have an advantage in not being regarded as missionaries by the Highlanders, at the same time they have the disadvantage of not regarding the Highlands as peculiarly a mission field.

On the other hand, the missionaries of denominations with headquarters in other parts of the United States operate under much more serious handicaps. Between their religious conceptions and those of the Highlanders there is a great gulf. The attitudes of the two parties toward the Bible, in spite of reverence on both sides, are distinctly different. They commonly have rather different conceptions as to the nature of religious experience, the one emphasizing a sudden transformation of personality and the other a gradual development. And while the Highlander believes the sole function of the church to be the salvation of individuals in a future life, the missionaries of the outside denominations consider that the church should also save society in the present world.

These differences result in mutual lack of understanding. The Highlanders, not considering themselves heathen, resent the advent of missionaries; and they have a deeply rooted suspicion of the orthodoxy of the missionary and his message, which it requires years to eradicate. The missionary, on his side, does not always appreciate the genuineness and fervor of the Highlander's religion. Unlike the foreign missionary, he is sent to no school of orientation to be initiated into the language and habits of thought of the people. He has to learn by trial and error; and his mistakes may well give rise to lasting antagonism. He is apt to take for granted more agreement with his own religious attitude than really prevails, and is inclined to ascribe to perversity any lasting resistance to his own standards. Many missionaries in the course of years acquire sympathetic understanding of the religious sentiments of the Highlanders; others never attain this. At best, much time is required. And time is not always granted. Disappointment at the absence of speedy results is sometimes followed by premature recall, with the substitution of another stranger or possibly the abandonment of work in the locality.

The efforts of the missionaries of these denominations to induce religious experience of their own kind in adults in whom widely different traditional religious attitudes are already firmly implanted is generally futile; and even when effective it often involves inner conflict and a break in continuity of development. For this reason missionaries from other sections have found their greatest opportunity in moulding the plastic minds of the young. And through this work they are naturalizing the Highlanders of the future in the world of religious ideas in which live the great majority of the Christian people of the United States, thus tending to lessen the spiritual isolation of the Highlands.

The denominations operating from a distance are also benefiting the Highlanders in other ways. Both through the community activities of their aided ministers and by means of their numerous community centers they tend to ameliorate the life of the people about them in all its phases. The fact that the ministers have usually been men of college education and professional training has helped to raise standards regarding preparation for the ministry in the region. Many of the home mission ministers and the principals of mission schools, and some of the heads of community centers as well, are leaders in education and other civic concerns in the whole territory about them.

The denominations operating from without, moreover, are able to maintain a large amount of expensive missionary work in the Highlands, because their constituents include many benevolent persons who regard the Highlands as a needy and appealing missionary field. From the mission boards of these denominations came about two-thirds of the annual funds expended at the time of the survey on missions in the Highlands, including both home mission aid and the maintenance of missionary institutions such as schools, community centers and other local enterprises.* In these two forms of expenditures a single denomination, the one for which the fullest information was available expended in the year over $286,000.

Both kinds of denominations, therefore, are doing greatly needed work for the Highlanders, the contributions of each group of bodies supplementing those of the other.

Degree of Efficiency of Missionary Activities

In turning now to the collation of facts bearing on the efficiency of the total home missionary enterprise, consideration will be given first to the geographical distribution of localities to which aid of different forms is applied. The proportion of churches receiving grants in the territory investigated did not vary with the degree of religious destitution of the sections in which they were situated; and the amount of home mission aid in relation to area was half as high again for the Blue Ridge as for the comparatively under-ministered Northeastern and Northwestern Cumberland Plateaus. Furthermore, in the sections most deficient in religious privileges there are districts where no missionary work is carried on, including some districts in which only primitive denominations are active, and others where primitive denominations have died out, leaving whole townships without religious ministry other than the erratic and unstable activities of perfectionist preachers.

A similar lack of statesmanship is found in the distribution of mission schools, and of community centers and other forms of local mission enterprises. As the maps constituting Diagrams XVI and XVII show, the localities having missions are generally clustered, leaving in some cases stretches of territory covering eight or ten contiguous counties where no such institutions have been identified. For example, an extensive district without community centers is found in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau, where the need of this kind of work is far greater than elsewhere. Moreover, only a very small proportion of the coal camps contain missionary work of any kind, although they are notoriously the abode of vice, destitution, squalor and wretchedness, and though some of them are at times the scene of civil strife. On the other hand, many county-seats and other centers possess aided churches in the presence of other Protestant churches, and some have two or even three churches, each of which receives a home mission grant.

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*For the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose roots in the Highlands go back to very early days, the home mission grants to ministers, being distributed by conference and district executives, were included among expenditures of long-established denominations. But since the local mission enterprises of the denomination were sponsored by three national agencies with headquarters far outside the Highlands, the sums expended in this form of work were included in the total for outside denominations.

The irregular distribution of the missionary enterprise follows inevitably from the fact that the missionary agencies neither carry on their undertakings in cooperation nor even coordinate their activities through official consultations. Arrangements for such consultations were initiated, however, at the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers in March, 1933. On that occasion regional conferences of workers were definitely planned for the ensuing year; and a council of representatives of denominational agencies operating in the Highlands was proposed.

The location of mission schools sponsored by the different agencies can be ascertained from a list published by the Russell Sage Foundation,* and from Appendix III of this book. For the location of aided churches, and of missions other than schools, there is no single source of official information; and no official lists of such enterprises are published separately by the denominations conducting them. The map constituting Diagram XVI, with the list that forms Appendix II, though not absolutely complete, shows the location of most such missions in 1932. However, since these phenomena are very unstable, some will doubtless soon be abandoned, while new missions will presumably be inaugurated. To map the aided churches proved impracticable, for lack of precise and comprehensive information.

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*Southern Mountain Schools, Revised Edition (New York; Russell Sage Foundation, 1929).

The absence of any interdenominational agency for Highland work also prevents the missionary agencies from exerting their united influence against the moral evils of the region, such as violence, moonshining and civic corruption; it renders them powerless during strikes in the mining camps; and it makes it impossible for them to work unitedly for better economic, educational and social conditions in the area.

A growing sense of the importance of conferences upon the common interests of agencies conducting mission work in the Highlands is indicated by the increasingly wide attention paid to the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers, which has been held annually in Knoxville since 1913.

Degree of Efficiency of Operation

That on the whole the money available for mission work is made to go a long way, is suggested by a number of indications. Many buildings are inexpensive. They are simple and along Highland lines, and are usually constructed locally and often by volunteer labor. Though costly and inappropriate buildings are sometimes erected by distant boards, such cases are exceptional. The salaries of workers, moreover, are uncommonly low, so much so as to tend to eliminate workers without the missionary spirit. On the other hand, the suggestion is sometimes heard that missionary spirit is occasionally accepted in lieu of training for the specific task for which the worker is engaged.

It should be admitted, however, that in some sorts of contingencies missionary values go to waste. The abandonment of missions for any reason sometimes entails the partial or complete loss of money invested in real estate and equipment, as well as of sums already expended in maintenance during a period of preparation, and the forfeiture of such intangibles as local influence, experience of workers, and the like.

Again, most mission enterprises are dependent partly on the subsidies of organizations, denominational or independent, and partly on individual gifts. The constituencies solicited for private contributions are to a great extent the same as those upon which the denominational boards depend for the support of their missionary programs. For both the boards and the separate mission enterprises the competition for donations involves waste of labor and uncertainty of return, especially in periods of financial stress. Moreover, the anxious task of begging for the funds required to keep the work in operation is a tax upon the time and strength of those in charge of the mission enterprises. For the boards, on the other hand, the need of maintaining the flow of contributions necessary to the support of a mission program sometimes determines the adoption or the continuance of popular forms of activity that might otherwise not have seemed appropriate to the mission enterprise concerned.

The same pressure for funds to maintain existing work results sometimes in the use of publicity material not altogether in consonance with the facts. The distortion sometimes takes the form of over-stating the evils a mission is intended to remedy. One of the schools visited, for instance, utilized an anecdote declared by a county official to date back over thirty years and to illustrate a state of things that had long since passed away. In other cases, the good effects of missionary work are exaggerated. For example, a denominational pamphlet in giving an account of a mission used the expression, "a redeemed village and an entire county revolutionized." This county, when visited some years later in the course of the survey was declared by competent witnesses to be backward in development, secular-minded and even immoral.

Adjustment to Changes

When a county in which a mission has carried on a varied program of community service acquires a county agent, a home demonstration agent, welfare worker or health unit, or when some private agency undertakes health work or any other service on a large scale, the mission tends to adapt itself to the new situation by the modification or withdrawal of the duplicated services. The improvement of public schools is also frequently followed by surrender of the field or by the adoption of changed objectives. Sometimes, however, adjustment lags. Among retarding influences are these: the belief of the workers on the field in the continued importance of their work in the accustomed form; the imperfect appreciation of changes by denominational executives at a distance, together with their desire to avoid seeming retreat; and the known preferences of the great body of constituents on whose support the continuance of the work depends.

Another kind of change in the environment, to which community centers are frequently called upon to adjust themselves, results from the construction of a surfaced highway through the community. Easy communication with larger centers and a lengthened community radius render it necessary to reconstruct the whole program of the mission and perhaps even to transfer the work to another site. Such readjustments have been made in some instances, and the need of them in other cases is coming to be appreciated.

From the beginning it has been one of the purposes of the schools and other mission enterprises to train future leaders for the Highlands, so that in course of time missionaries may no longer be needed. Already graduates of the mission schools teach in many of the public schools. Efforts are being made to draw more of the educated young men into the ministry by persuading them that the "call" traditionally required need not be supernatural or unreasoning. At present few of the graduates either of the mission schools or of the public high schools can find bread-winning occupations in the mountains; but as more agricultural extension workers, doctors and nurses, welfare workers and librarians come to be employed in the Highlands, many such positions may well be filled by young people now being trained to lifelong Christian service in mission churches, schools and community centers. And eventually the Highlanders may be expected to have self-supporting churches with men of their own hills in the pulpits, and educated native leaders in the pews.

APPENDIX I

Comparative Isolation and Poverty of the Subdivisions of the Highlands

From the descriptions of the six principal subdivisions of the Highlands in Chapters III - V it is evident that the general level of well-being is low throughout the region, but that it is still lower in some sections than in others. How do the subdivisions rank in comparative deprivation? Differences in respect to less tangible privileges, such as opportunities for intellectual stimulus, cannot readily be gauged on account of the lack of suitable objective tests. But tests do exist by which can be measured comparative degrees of isolation and of poverty. Isolation is greater, for example, where the percentage of farms on unimproved dirt roads is higher, and where the density of population is lower. Poverty is greater where there are lower averages for farm property values and farm income. In the accompanying table, ten such tests of comparative prosperity and isolation have been applied to the six sections of the Highlands described in this book. The data on which the figures are based were derived from the volumes of the Census of 1930 and from the Market Data Handbook.

By this comparison the Northeastern and Northwestern Cumberland Plateau each ranked among the lowest two on eight of the ten points, and the Central Valleys and the Central Ridges each ranked among the highest two on eight of the ten points. The Northeastern and Northwestern Cumberland Plateaus may therefore be considered the most isolated and poverty-stricken sections, and the Central Valleys and Central Ridges may be regarded as suffering least from poverty and isolation, in spite of the presence in these sections of many poor and isolated districts. The Alleghany Plateau and the Blue Ridge were found to hold an intermediate position, with the Blue Ridge ranking lower on four times as many points as the Alleghany Plateau.

Appendix Table I Test of Degree of Isolation and of Prosperity, for Principal Subdivisions of the Highlands

Test	Northeastern Cumberland Plateau	Rank	Northwestern Cumberland Plateau	Rank	Alleghany Plateau	Rank	Blue Ridge	Rank	Central Ridges	Rank	Central Valleys	Rank
Degree of Isolation												
Per cent. of farms on improved roads	16.2	6	23.6	5	26.2	4	29.1	3	30.1	2	48.5	1
Per cent. of farms having automobile	7.5	6	13.8	5	37.0	3	22.0	4	52.6	1	38.9	2
Per cent. of farms having telephone	15.1	4.5	6.1	6	27.1	2	15.1	4.5	38.5	1	16.6	3
Per cent. of farms with cooperative selling	0.5	5.5	0.5	5.5	1.4	4	1.8	3	3.1	1	2.1	2
Per cent. of farms with cooperative buying	0.1	6	0.2	5.	2.5	2	0.7	4	3.8	1	1.7	3
Number of inhabitants per square mile	68.7	2	29.4	5	63.6	3	36.1	4	28.0	6	77.6	1
Degree of Prosperity												
Income from farm sales per farm	$322	6	$402.	4	$518	3	$323	5	$884	1	$654	2
Income from farm sales per acre	4.45	5	5.73	2	5.61	3	4.27	6	5.03	4	8.04	1
Average value of land and buildings, per farm	1,902	5	1,460	6	3,545	3	2,804	4	6,160	1	4,803	2
Average value of implements and machinery, per farm	45	6	83	5	167	3	111	4	295	1	224	2
Number of points on which section ranked one of the lowest two	8		8				2		1			
Number of points on which section ranked one of the highest two	1		1		2				8		8	

APPENDIX II

List of Local Enterprises Other Than Schools Conducted in the Highlands by Missionary or Philanthropic Agencies

The following list of missionary and philanthropic enterprises other than schools situated in the Highlands is based on information collected at the expense of considerable time and effort from a variety of sources. The arrangement is by subdivisions of the Highlands, and within the subdivisions by states and counties. Of mission schools, for which the Russell Sage Foundation publishes a list, only those are included that are known to conduct a definite program of community service. A blank in any column indicates that the information is not available. An asterisk (*) marks enterprises not represented on Diagram XVI, either because they serve a considerable district or because their exact location within the county is not known.

The data are so scattered and the situation is so unstable that, in spite of the great pains taken, absolute accuracy has probably not been possible. Some enterprises have doubtless been omitted, and, on the other hand, some of those listed may recently have been discontinued. The types of work reported for a given institution may not be exhaustive. Place names may be rural delivery addresses rather than indications of precise locations. Other schools than those included in the list may conduct programs of community service.

Abbreviations employed in the last two columns that may not be readily understood are as follows:

A	Agricultural work
C	Handicrafts
D	Dormitory (not connected with a mission boarding school)
Ec.	Economic (other than agricultural)
Ed.	Educational (other than through a school)
F.N.S.	Frontier Nursing Service
G	Clothing Bureau
H	Health work (nurse, dispensary, hospital)
L	Library
M	Music
n.bd.	Supported not by a denominational board but by a particular church
O	Orphanage
R	Religious work
S	Social work

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
	Northeastern Cumberland Plateau		
Kentucky			
Bell County	1 Beverly	H	F.N.S.
	2 Henderson Settlement, Linda	A,C,H,S	M.E.
Breathitt	3 Bethany Orphanage, Jackson	H,O,S	
	4 Faith Mission, Quicksand	H,R	Indpt.
	5 Guerrant	A,H,O,R,S	Pr.US
	6 Lambric	S	Indpt.
	7 Noctor	S	Indpt.
Clay	8 Brutus	H	F.N.S.
	9 Flat Creek	H	F.N.S.
	*10 Greenbrier	S	Pr.US
	11 Red Bird	H,R,S	Evang.
	12 Red Bird	H	F.N.S.
Harlan	13 Big Laurel	H	
	14 Cranks Creek	R,S	Pr.USA
	15 Martin's Fork	R,S	Pr.USA
Knott	16 Carr Creek Community Centre, Inc.	H,S	Indpt.
	17 Delta Zeta Community Centre, Vest	S	Sorority
	18 Hindman Settlement School	L,S	Indpt.
Lee	19 Glen Eden Community Centre, Williba	S	
Leslie	20 Beech Fork, mail Asher	H	F.N.S.
	21 Dry Hill	H,R,S	Pr.USA n.bd.
	22 Faith Cottage, Thousand Sticks	D,R,S	Pr.USA n.bd.
	23 Hyden	A,D,R,S	Pr.USA n.bd.
	24 Hyden	H	F.N.S.
	25 McIntosh	R,S	Pr.USA
	26 Piney Grove Community Centre	R,S	Indpt.
	27 Possum Bend, mail Confluence	H	F.N.S.
	28 Wendover	H	F.N.S.
	29 Wooton Community Centre	A,C,H,R,S	Pr.USA
Letcher	30 Kingdom Come Settlement, Line Fork	R,S	M.E.
Owsley	31 Booneville Settlement	R,S	M.E.
	32 Sulphur Springs Community Centre, Stay	R,S	Pr.USA
Perry	33 Bowlingtown	H	F.N.S.
	34 Buckhorn	A,C,Ec. H,R,S	Pr.USA n.bd.
	35 Bulan	R	Indpt.
	36 Homeplace, Ary	A,C,S	Indpt.

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
	Northeastern Cumberland Plateau(continued)		
Virginia			
Buchanan County	37 Grundy	D	Pr.US
Dickenson	*38 Pilot Kut Mission	R	Episc.
	*39 Shatton Mission	R	Episc.
	40 St.Stephen's Mission,Nora	C,R	Episc.
	41 Splashdam Mission	C,R	Episc.
Russell	42 St. Mark's Mission,Dante	C,R	Episc.
Wise	43 Goodwill Centre, Midway, mail Norton	R,S	So.Bap.
	44 Grace-House-on-the Mountain, St. Paul	R	Episc.
West Virginia			
Boone County	45 Comfort	R,S	Pr.US
	46 Prenter	R,S	Pr.US
Logan	47 Amherstdale	R,S	M.E.S.
	48 Clothier, Sharples and Monclo	R,S	Pr.US
Raleigh	49 Pattie Stockdale,Colcord	D,H,S	Pr.USA
McDowell	50 Big Sandy	R,S	M.E.S.
	51 Bradshaw	R,S	M.E.S.
	52 Carswell	R,S	M.E.S.
	53 Hemphill	R,S	M.E.S.
	54 War	R,S	M.E.S.
	Northwestern Cumberland Plateau		
Alabama			
Jackson County	*55 House of Happiness	Ec.,R,S	Episc.
	56 Sand Mountain Cottage and School,Long Island	H	S.D.A.
Kentucky			
Jackson County	57 Gray Hawk	H,R,S	Ref.A.
	58 McKee	D,R,S	Ref.A.
Rockcastle	59 Langdon Memorial, Mt. Vernon	D,R,S	Pr.USA
Rowan	60 Burton Ridge Centre, Christy	R,S	Pr.USA
Tennessee			
Bledsoe County	*61 Patton Community Centre	R,S	M.E.
Cumberland	62 Big Lick	R,S	Pr.USA
	63 Linary	R	Indpt.
	64 Pleasant Hill	A,C,G, L,R,S	Congre.
	65 Uplands Sanatorium, Pleasant Hill	H	Indpt.

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
	Northwestern Cumberland Plateau(continued)		
Tennessee (continued)			
Fentress County	66 Allardt	R,S	Pr.US
Franklin	67 Emerald Hodgson Hospital, Sewanee	H	Episc.
	68 Epiphany Mission, Sherwood	R	Episc.
Grundy	69 Summerfield Community Centre	S	
Morgan	70 Christ Church Community House, Rugby	L,S	Episc.
Putnam	71 St. Raphael's House, Monterey	H,L,O, R,S	Episc.
Scott	72 Robbins	S	
White	73 Blue Springs and other small centres, mail Sparta	A,R,S	Pr.USA
	Alleghany Plateau		
West Virginia			
Fayette County	74 Sheltering Arms Hospital, Ansted	H	Episc.
	Blue Ridge		
Georgia			
Rabun County	75 Tiger	S	Pr.US
North Carolina			
Avery County	76 Beechmont School and Farm	A,R	S.D.A.
	77 Crossnore School, Inc.	C,H,S	Indpt.
	78 Grandfather Orphanage, Banner Elk	O	Pr.US
	79 Grace Hospital, Banner Elk	H	Pr.US
	80 Linville Community House	R,S	Episc.
	81 Three Mile	R,S	Indpt.
Buncombe	82 Mountain Orphanage, Black Mountain	O	Pr.US
	*83 Pisgah Industrial Institute	H	S.D.A.
	84 Spinning Wheel, Asheville	C	Indpt.
Clay	85 John C. Campbell Folk School, Brasstown	A,C,Ec., L,S.	Indpt.
	86 Shooting Creek Centre	H,M,S	M.E.
Haywood	87 Inman's Chapel	Ed.,R,S	Fr.
Henderson	88 Fletcher Mountain	H,S	S.D.A.
	89 Balfour Orphanage	O	

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
	Blue Ridge (continued)		
North Carolina			
Madison County	90 Allanstand	C	Indpt.
	91 Carmen	R,S	Pr.USA
	92 Little Pine	H,R,S	Pr.USA
	93 Revere	L,M,S	Pr.USA
	94 White Rock	C,H,R,S	Pr.USA
Mitchell	95 Tipton Hill Center	R,S	M.E.
Polk	96 Duke Foundation Hospital, Tryon	H	Indpt.
	97 Weave Shop, Saluda	C	Indpt.
Watauga	98 Boone	H	Pr.US
Yancy	99 Banks Creek Community Centre	C,S	Pr.USA
	100 Higgins Community, Inc.	C	Pr.USA
Tennessee			
Cocke County	101 Sunset Gap, Cosby	H,S	Pr.USA
	*102 Worker for county	R	Pr.US
Johnson	103 Trade Community Centre	S	M.E.
Monroe	104 Tellico Plains	R,S	
Polk	105 Lynn Bachman School and Home, Farner	R,S	Pr.US
Sevier	106 Elkmont Settlement House	S	Indpt.
	107 Pi Beta Phi School, Gatlinburg	C,S	Sorority
	108 Pittman Community Centre, mail Sevierville, R.F.D. 17	A,C,H,S	M.E.
Unicoi	109 Flag Pond	H,R,S	Pr.USA
Virginia			
Albemarle County	110 Blackwell's Hollow,Brown's Cove	R	Episc.
	111 Holy Cross Mission, Batesville	H,L,R,S	Episc.
	*112 McIlhany Parish, with 3 missions, mail Charlottesville	R,S	Episc.
	113 St.John-the-Baptist Mission, Ivy Depot	R,S	Episc.
Amherst	114 Christ Mission, Bear Mountain	C,R,S	Episc.
Fauquier	115 St.Andrew's Mission, Marshall	R	Episc.
Franklin	*116 St.Peter's-in-the-Mountains	R,S	Episc.
	117 St.John's-in-the -Mountains,Endicott	C,R,S	Episc.

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
	Blue Ridge (continued)		
Virginia			
Grayson County	*118 Western part of county	H	Un.Luth.
	119 Y.M.C.A., Fries	H,S	
Greene	120 Blue Ridge Industrial School, Bris	R,S	Episc.
	121 Church of Brethren Industrial School, Geer	O,S	Ch.of Br.
	122 Frazier's Mountain, mail Mission Home	R	Episc.
	123 Haneytown Mission	R	Episc.
	124 Middle River Mission, Fletcher	R,S	Episc.
	125 Mission Home	G,H,R,S	Episc.
	126 St. Anne's Preventorium, Mission Home	H	Episc.
	127 Simmons Gap	R,S	Episc.
	128 Wyatt's Mountain	R	Episc.
	129 Lower Pocosan, mail McMullen	G,R	Episc.
Loudoun	130 Morgan's Mill Mission, Bluemont	R,S	Episc.
Nelson	131 Schuyler Quarry	R	Episc.
Rockbridge	132 Irish Creek	R	Episc.
Rockingham	133 Lynnwood	R,S	Episc.
	134 Rocky Bar, mail Elkton	R,S	Episc.
	135 St.Stephen's Mission, Yancey, mail Elkton	G,R,S	Episc.
Smyth	136 Konnarock Training School	A,C,H,S	Un.Luth.
	Central Ridges		
Virginia			
Alleghany County	137 Boys Home, Inc., near Covington	O	Episc.
Giles	138 Christ Church, Pearisburg	C,O,R,S	Episc.
Highland	*139 Middle Mountain Mission Cottage	R,S	Pr.US
	140 Clinch Valley Community Centre	R,S	M.E.
Tazewell	141 St.Mary's, Bluefield	C	Episc.
	142 Trinity House, Richlands	C,R,S	Episc.
West Virginia			
Pendleton County	143 Chamberlain Cottage	A,C,R,S	Pr.US
	144 Roaring Creek Mission, mail Bluefield	R	Menn.

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
	Central Valleys		
Tennessee			
Greene County	145 Holston Orphanage, Greeneville	O	M.E.S.
Hamblen	146 Shuttle Crafters, Russellville	C	Indpt.
Hancock	147 Vardy	R,S	Pr.USA
McMinn	148 Ritter Hall, Athens	D	M.E.
Sullivan	*149 Worker for county	R	Pr.US
Virginia			
Page County	150 Pine Grove Hollow, mail Stanley	R,S	Episc.
	151 Tanner's Ridge, mail Stanley	H,R,S	Episc.
	Piedmont		
North Carolina			
Burke County	152 St.Paul's Mission, Glen Alpine	R	Episc.
Polk	153 St.Thomas' Mission, Mill Spring	R	Episc.
	*154 Trailer of American Women's Hospitals	H	
Surrey	155 Sullivan, mail Shoals	S	Pr.US
	Highland Rim		
Tennessee			
Overton County	156 Alpine Institute	A,H,L,R,S	Pr.USA
	157 Cumberland Home and Children's Bureau	O	Indpt.
	Southern Valleys		
Alabama			
Jefferson County	158 Ensley	S	M.E.S.
Georgia			
Polk County	159 Deborah McCarty Settlement House, Cedartown	S	M.E.
	160 Ethel Harpst Home, Cedartown	O	M.E.
Walker	161 In-as-much Mission, Rossville	H,L,R,S	Episc.

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
Southern Cumberland Plateau			
Alabama			
Marshall County	162 Rebecca McClesky Hall, Boaz	D	M.E.

APPENDIX III

List of Missionary and Philanthropic Schools

The following list of missionary and philanthropic schools situated in the Highlands was compiled by Dr. Dunn. The schools can be found on Diagram XVII by the number given to each on this list. There are thirty-four doubtful mission schools on this list, numbers 1, 4, 6, 17, 18, 19, 22, 25, 32, 41, 46, 48, 51, 62, 64, 68, 70, 73, 74, 75, 77, 80, 81, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 107, 109, 127, 128, 138. Dr. Dunn's findings on missionary and philanthropic schools are included in Chapter IX.

An asterisk (*) under any one of the columns indicates that no information has been obtained with respect to that item.

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
	Northeastern Cumberland Plateau		
Kentucky			
Bell County	1 Henderson Settlement School Linda	* *	M.E.
	2 Red Bird Settlement School Beverly	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Evang.
Breathitt	3 Brooks Memorial Academy Canoe	El.-Int. Bd. *	Pr.US
	4 Crockettsville School *	El. *	Indpt.
	5 Highland High School Guerrant	El.-Sec. *	Pr.US
	6 Lambric Mission School Lambric	* *	Ind.
	7 Lees Collegiate Institute Jackson	Jr.Coll. Bd.-Da.	Pr.US
Clay	8 Oneida Baptist Institute Oneida	El.-Sec. *	S.Bapt.
Harlan	9 Pine Mountain Settlement School, Pine Mountain	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Indpt.
Knott	10 Caney Creek Com.Centre Schools, Pippapass	El.-Sec. Jr.Coll. Bd.-Da.	Indpt. and Pub.
	11 Carr Creek Com.Centre School, Carr Creek	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Indpt.
	12 Delta Theta Tau School *	El. *	Indpt.
	13 Delta Zeta Com.Centre School, Vest	El.-Sec. *	Indpt.

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
	Northeastern Cumberland Plateau (continued)		
Kentucky			
Knott County	14 Hindman Settlement School Hindman	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Indpt. and Pub.
Knox	15 Barbourville Institute Barbourville	El.-Sec. *	S.Bapt
	16 Union College Barbourville	Coll. *	M.E.
Lee	17 Belle Point School	El. *	Indpt.
Leslie	18 Beech Fork Settlement School, Helton	El. *	Evang.
	19 Jacks Creek School Roark	El. *	Evang.
	20 Stinnett Settlement School Stinnett Settlement	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Disc. and Pub.
Letcher	21 Carcassonne Com.Centre School, Gander	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Indpt.
	22 Kingdom Come Settlement School, Line Fork	* *	M.E.
	23 Stuart Robinson School Blackey	Sec. Bd.-Da.	Pr.US
Magoffin	24 Magoffin Institute Salyersville	Gr.8-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Indpt.
Owsley	25 Booneville Settlement School, Booneville	* *	M.E.
Perry	26 Hazard College Hazard	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	S.Bapt
	27 Lydian Girls' Boarding Krypton	El. Da.	Breth.
	28 Witherspoon College Buckhorn	El.-Sec.	Pr.USA and Pub.
Pike	29 Pikeville College Pikeville	* *	Pr.USA
Wolfe	30 Hazel Green Academy Hazel Green	Int.-Sec.	Disc.
Tennessee			
Claiborne County	31 Lincoln Memorial University Harrogate	Coll. *	Indpt.
Virginia			
Wise County	32 Hoot Owl Hollow School R.D. Big Stone Gap	El. *	Pr.Un.

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
	Northwestern Cumberland Plateau		
Kentucky			
Jackson County	33 Annville Institute Annville	Gr.4 thru H.S. Bd.-Da.	Ref.
	34 Gray Hawk Community School, Gray Hawk	El. Bd.-Da.	Ref.
Laurel	35 Sue Bennett Memorial College, London	Sec.-Jr. Coll. Bd.-Da.	M.E.S.
Menifee	36 Frenchburg School Frenchburg	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Pr.Un. and Pub.
Whitley	37 Cumberland College Williamsburg	Jr.Coll. *	S.Bapt.
Wolfe	38 Alvan Drew School Pine Ridge	Gr.4 thru H.S. Bd.-Da.	M.E.
Tennessee			
Cumberland County	39 Cumberland Mt. School Crossville	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	M.E.S.
	40 Pleasant Hill Academy Pleasant Hill	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Cong.
	41 St. Raphael's Institute Monterey	* *	*
Franklin	42 St. Andrew's School(Boys) St. Andrew's	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Episc.
	43 St. Mary's School(Girls) Sewanee	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Episc.
	Alleghany Plateau		
	No Schools		
	Blue Ridge		
Georgia			
Fannin County	44 Epworth Seminary Epworth	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	M.E.
Habersham and Rabun	45 Tallulah Falls Industrial School, Tallulah Falls	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Indpt. and Pub.
Rabun	46 Blackey Institute Clayton	* *	*

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
	Blue Ridge (continued)		
Georgia			
Rabun County	47 Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School, Rabun Gap	Sub-fresh. and Sec. Bd.-Da.	Pr.US
	48 Tiger School Tiger	El. *	Pr.US
Towns	49 Young-Harris College Young-Harris	Sec.-Jr.Coll. Bd.-Da.	M.E.
North Carolina			
Alleghany County	50 Glade Valley High School Glade Valley	Sec. Bd.	Pr.US
Ashe	51 Jefferson School Jefferson	* *	*
Avery	52 Beech-Mountain Industrial Academy Banners Elk	El. *	S.D.A.
	53 Crossnore School, Inc. Crossnore	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Indpt. and Pub.
	54 Lees-McRae Institute Banners Elk	Sec.-Jr. Coll. Bd.-Da.	Pr.US
Buncombe	55 Asheville Farm School (Boys) Farm School	Sec. Bd.	Pr.USA
	56 Asheville Normal and Teachers College Asheville (Girls)	Coll.-Nor. *	Pr.USA
	57 Christ School (Boys) Arden	Gr.6 thru H.S.	Episc.
	58 Pisgah Industrial Institute, Candler	Gr.5-10 Bd.-*	S.D.A.
	59 Weaver College Weaverville	Jr.Coll. Bd.-Da.	M.E.S.
Caldwell	60 Patterson School Legerwood	Gr.4 thru H.S. Bd.-Da.	Episc.
Cherokee	61 John C. Campbell Folk School, Brasstown	Folk Sch. Bd.	Indpt.
Clay	62 Shooting Creek School Shooting Creek	* *	M.E.
Henderson	63 Asheville Agricultural School and Mountain Sanatorium, Fletcher	El.-Sec. Bd.-*	S.D.A.
	64 Upward School *	* *	Episc.
Madison	65 Dorland Bell School (Girls) Hot Springs	Gr.5 thru H.S. Bd.	Pr.US

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
	Blue Ridge (continued)		
North Carolina			
Madison County	66 Mars Hill College Mars Hill	Sr.High and Jr.Coll. Bd.	S.Bapt.
Mitchell	67 Appalachian School Penland	El. *	Episc.
	68 Tipton Hill Centre Tipton Hill	* *	M.E.
Rutherford	69 Alexander School, Inc. Union Mills	El.-Sec. Bd.	S.Bapt.
	70 St. Thomas' Mission School, Mill Spring	El. *	Episc.
Transylvania	71 Brevard Institute Brevard	Gr.6 thru H.S. Bd.	M.E.
Watauga	72 Valle Crucis (Girls) Valle Crucis	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Episc.
Tennessee			
Cocke County	73 Cosby Centre School Caton's Grove	* *	M.E.
	74 Glenwood School Cosby	* *	*
	75 John Black School Hartford	* *	*
Greene	76 Horse Creek School Chuckey	El. *	Pr.Un. and Pub.
Johnson	77 Trade Centre School Trade	* *	M.E.
	78 Watauga Academy Butler	Sec. *	S.Bapt.
Monroe	79 Hiwassee College Madisonville	Sec.-Coll. Bd.	M.E.S.
Polk	80 Cherokee Mission Farner	* *	*
	81 Lynn Bachman Memorial School, Farner	El.-Sec. *	Pr.US
Sevier	82 Pi Beta Phi Settlement School, Gatlinburg	El.-Jr.H. Bd.-Da.	Indpt. and Pub.
	83 Smoky Mountain Academy *	El.-Sec. Da.	S.Bapt.
Virginia			
Amherst County	84 Christ Mission Bear Mt.	El. Da.	Episc.
Floyd	85 Buffalo Mt. School Willis	El. *	Pr.US

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
	Blue Ridge (continued)		
Virginia			
Floyd County	86 Franklin High School Indian Valley	Sec. *	Episc.
	87 Harris Cannaday Memorial School, Pizarro	El. *	Pr.US
Franklin	88 Algoma School Callaway	El. *	Pr.US
	89 Phoebe Needles Day School, Callaway	El. *	Episc.
	90 St.John's-in-the- Mountains, Endicott	El. *	Episc.
	91 Shooting Creek School Endicott	El. *	Pr.US
Grayson	92 Oak Hill Academy Kindrick	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	S.Bapt.
Greene	93 Lower Pocosan Mission School, Towles	El. *	Episc.
	94 Mission Home Mission Home	El. Da.	Episc.
	95 St.James Mission School Lydia	El. Da.	Episc.
	96 Upper Pocosan Mission School, McMullen	El. Da.	Episc.
Patrick	97 Blue Ridge Academy The Hollow	El.-Sec. Bd.	Pr.US
	98 Blue Ridge Mission School, Buffalo Ridge	El.-Sec. Bd.	S.Bapt.
Rockbridge	99 Cave Mountain School Greenlee	El. Da.	Pr.US
Rockingham	100 Simmons Gap Mission Belder	El. Da.	Episc.
Smyth	101 Konnarock Training School, Konnarock	El. and Home for H.S.pupils Bd.-Da.	Luth. and Pub.
	Central Ridges		
West Virginia			
Monroe County	102 Alderson Jr.College and Academy Alderson	Sec.-Jr. Coll.	N.Bapt.
	Central Valleys		
Tennessee			
Blount County #	103 Friendsville Academy Friendsville	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Friends

#This county is partly in the Blue Ridge

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
	Central Valleys (continued)		
Tennessee			
Blount County	104 Maryville College Maryville	Coll.	Pr.USA
Carter	#105 Milligan College Milligan College	Coll. Bd.-Da.	Disc.
Cocke	#106 Cosby Academy Cosby	El.-Sec. *	S.Bapt.
Grainger	107 Clinch Valley Centre School *	* *	*
Greene	#108 Tusculum College Greeneville	Coll.	Pr.USA
Hancock	109 Vardy School Vardy	El. *	Indpt.
Jefferson	110 Carson and Newman College Jefferson City	Coll. *	S.Bapt.
McMinn	#111 Tennessee Wesleyan College, Athens	Jr.Coll.	M.E.
Roane	##112 Mossop School for Girls, Harriman	Jr.High Bd.	Pr.USA
Sevier	#113 Harrison-Chilhowee Institute Seymour	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	S.Bapt.
	114 Murphy College Sevierville	Sec. Bd.	M.E.
	115 Pittman Community Centre School Sevierville	El.-Sec.	M.E.
Washington	#116 Washington College Washington College	* Bd.-Da.	Pr.USA
Virginia			
Smyth County	#117 Marion College Marion	Jr.Coll. Bd.-Da.	Luth.
Washington	#118 Emory and Henry College, Emory	Coll. Bd.-Da.	M.E.S.
	119 Virginia Intermont College, Bristol	Jr.Coll. *	S.Bapt.
Wythe	#120 Girls' Industrial School Foster Falls	El. Bd.	Pr.US

# These counties are partly in the Blue Ridge.

## These counties are partly in the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau.

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
	Piedmont		
Georgia			
Cherokee County	121 Reinhart College Waleska	Sec.-Jr.Coll. *	M.E.S.
Habersham	#122 Piedmont College Demarest	Coll. *	Indpt.
North Carolina			
Burke County	#123 St.Paul's Mission School, Glen Alpine	El. Bd.-Da.	Episc.
Caldwell	#124 Davenport College Lenoir	Sec.-Coll. *	M.E.S.
Rutherford	#125 South Mt. Industrial Institute, Bostic	El.-Sec. *	Indpt. and Pub.
South Carolina			
Greeneville County	#126 North Greeneville Academy, Tigerville	Sec. Bd.	S.Bapt.
Oconee	#127 Tamassee Industrial School, Tamassee	* *	Indpt.
Virginia			
Amherst and Nelson County	#128 Piedmont Mission School, Alhambra	El. *	S.Bapt.
Franklin	#129 Ferrum Training School, Ferrum	Sec. Bd.	M.E.S.
Greene	#130 Blue Ridge Industrial School, Dyke	El.-Sec. Bd.-Da.	Episc.
	131 Church of the Brethren Industrial School, Geer	El. Bd.-Da.	Breth.
	Highland Rim		
Kentucky			
Carter County	132 Erie Industrial Institute, Olive Hill	EL-Sec. Bd.-Da.	M.E. and Pub.
Tennessee			
Overton County	###133 Alpine Institute Alpine	Sec. Bd.-Da.	Pr.USA

# These counties are partly in the Blue Ridge.

### This county is partly in the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau.

State and County	Identification	Program	Agency
	Highland Rim (continued)		
Tennessee			
Overton County	134 Livingston Academy Livingston	Sec. Da.	Disc.
Putnam	###135 Baxter Seminary Baxter	Sec. Bd.-Da.	M.E.
West Virginia			
Harrison County	136 Salem College Salem	Coll. *	S.D.B.
	Southern Appalachian Valley		
Georgia			
Floyd County	137 Berry Schools Mt. Berry	El.-Sec. 4 yr.Coll. Bd.	Indpt.
Gordon	138 Hurbutt Farm School	* *	*
	Southwestern Cumberland Plateau		
Alabama			
Walker County	139 Eldridge Baptist Academy Eldridge	Sec. Bd.-Da.	S.Bapt.

### This county is partly in the Northwestern Cumberland Plateau.

APPENDIX IV

Selected List of Books for Workers Among the People of the Highlands and for Other Readers Interested in the Highlands

European Background

Cheyney, E. P., European Background of American History, 1300 - 1600 (The American Nation Series, Vol. I) (New York; Harper & Bros., 1904).

Contains accounts of the races represented among the early settlers in the Highlands, with attention to the religious situation of each.

Sweet, W. W., The Story of Religions in America (New York; Harper & Bros., 1930).

Affords information on both European antecedents and movements in early American religious history that affected the churches of the Highlands.

Racial Stocks

Hall, T. C., The Religious Background of American Culture (Boston; Little, Brown & Co., 1930).

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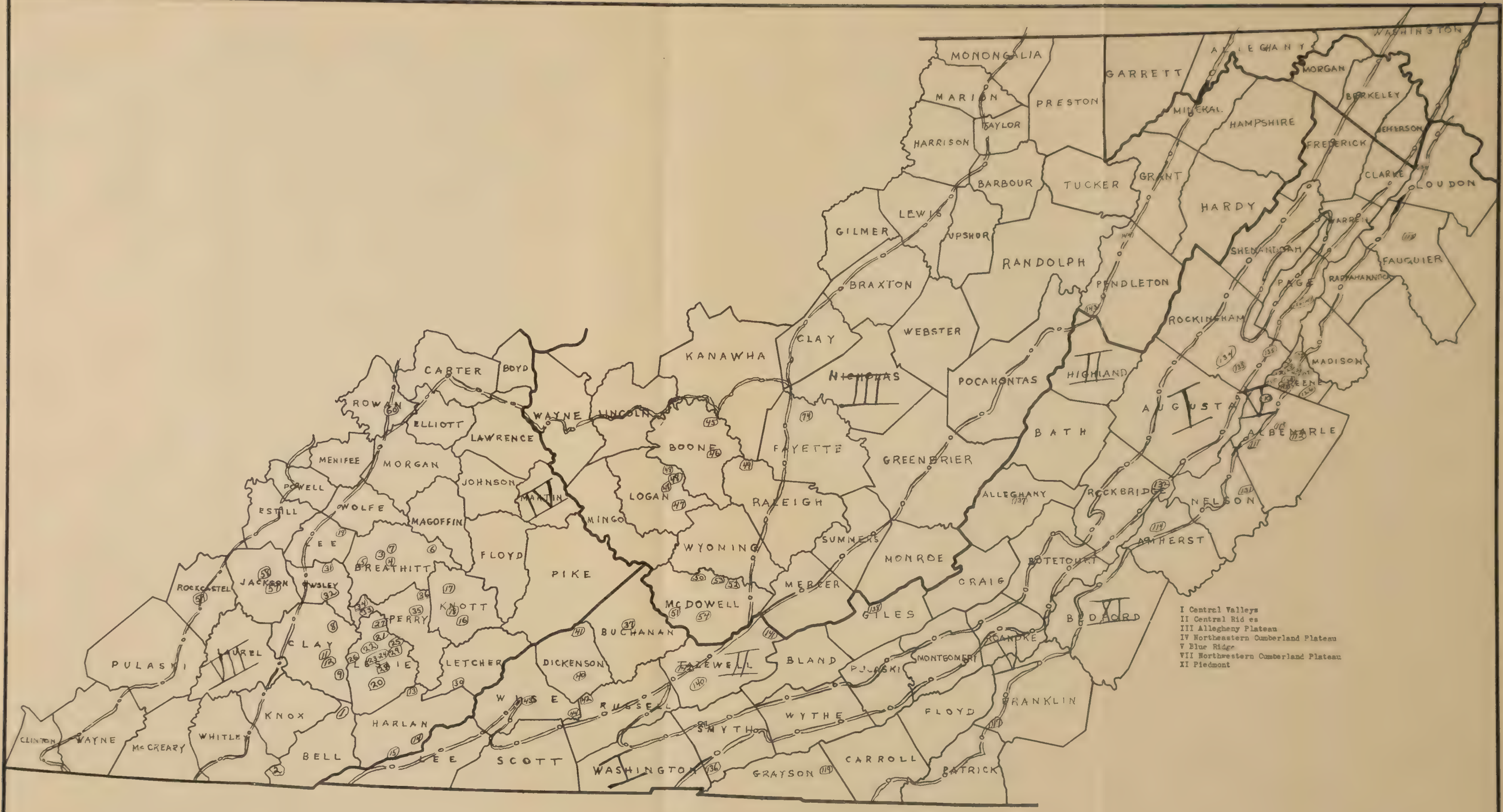
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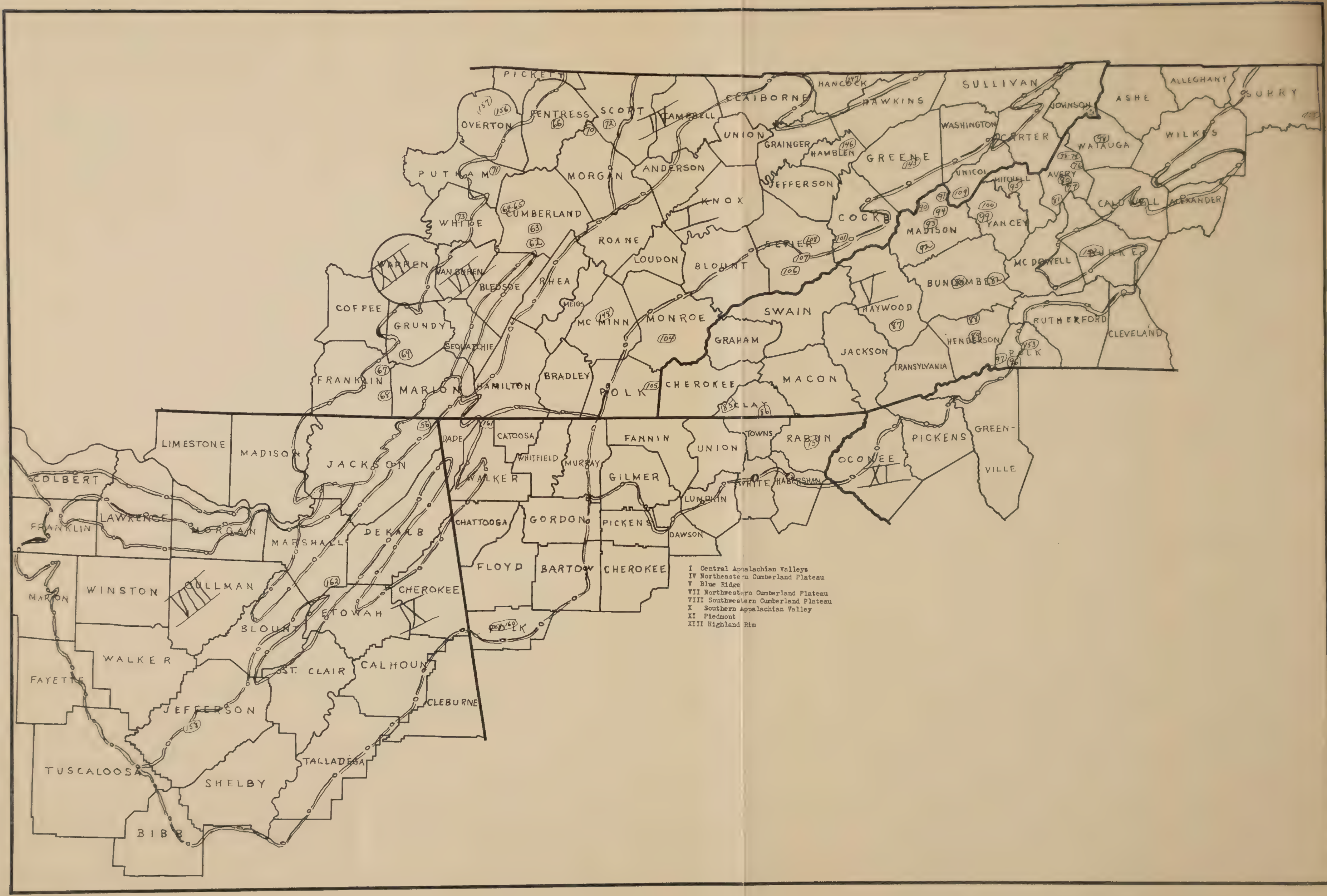
IV Northeastern Cumberland Plateau
V Blue Ridge
VII Northwestern Cumberland Plateau
XI Piedmont

Diagram XVI - Map Showing Local Missionary Enterprises Other Than Schools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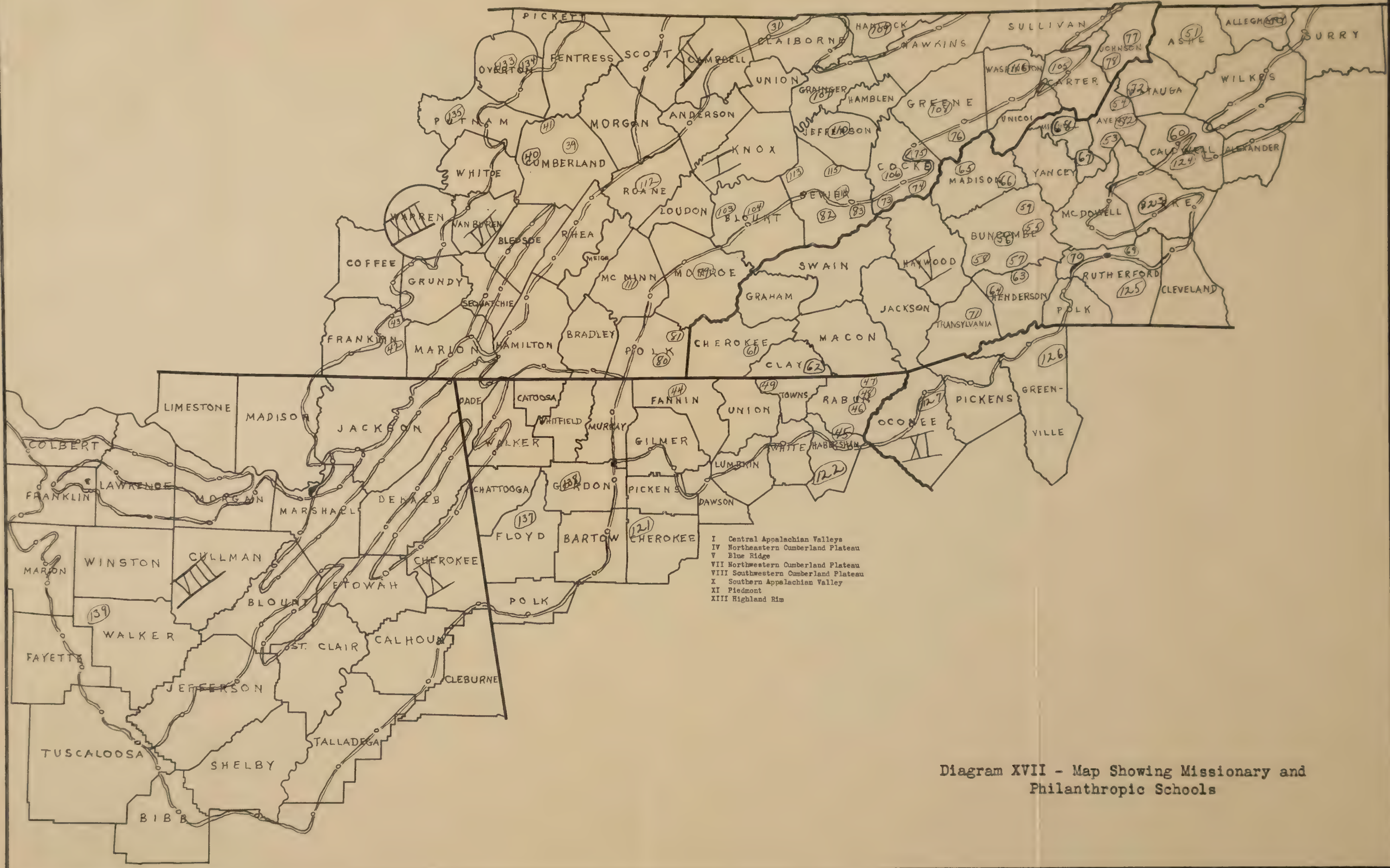
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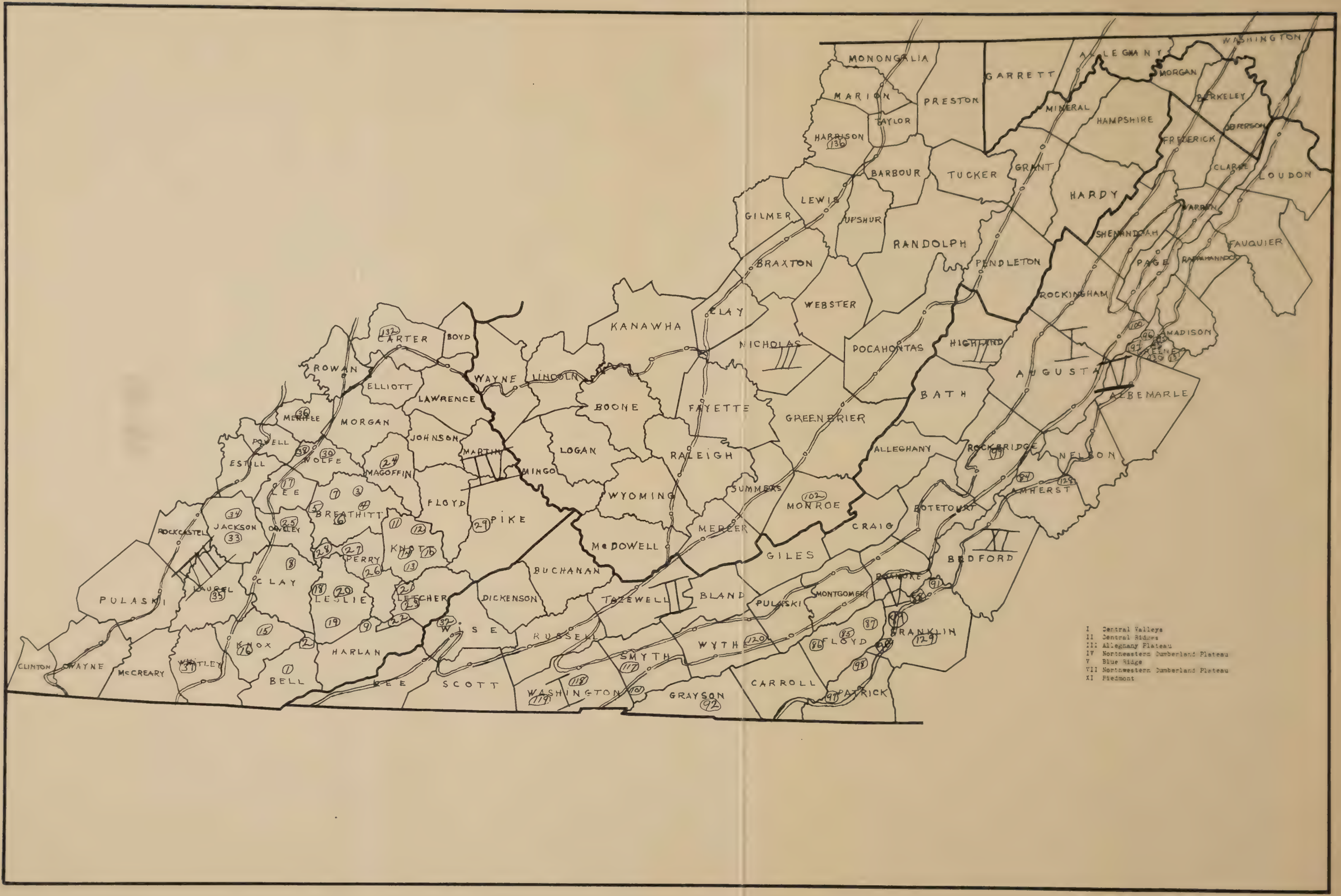
VIII Southwestern Cumberland Plateau
X Southern Appalachian Valley
XI Piedmont
XIII Highland Rim

Diagram XVII - Map Showing Missionary and
Philanthropic Schools



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